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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
MADRAS-5, INDIA

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Institute of Traditional Cultures
Madras

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PREFACE

This issue of Bulletin conforms to the same plan as the earlier ones. The sources from which the different sections are compiled are indicated in the relevant contexts. The Institute is indebted to all those who have helped in the compilation of the Bulletin.

The Institute is grateful to the Government of India and to the Government of Tamil Nadu for their grants for the year 1970 which has enabled the Institute to continue to function on the same lines as it did in the previous years. To the University of Madras and its esteemed Vice-Chancellor Thiru N. D. Sundaravadivelu, who is the President of the Institute it is indebted in no small measure. The University accommodates the Institute in its buildings, and provides it with other amenities; its large academic staff in its various Research Departments in the Humanities offer their hearty cooperation in the work of the Institute. It also bears as usual, the cost of paper and printing the two issues of the Bulletin for the year. The Executive Committee has given much ready help in the management of the Institute both on its administrative and academic sides.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
Director.

Madras-5.
Date: 15-2-1971.

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Vol. IV No. 11.

SECTION I : ARTICLES

SOME SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICINE IN ANCIENT INDIA *

by

PROF. C. DWARAKANATH

(Officer on Special Duty, ICMR, formerly Adviser in Indian Systems of Medicine to the Ministry of Health, Government of India)

I thank the National Institute of Sciences of India for inviting me to present, at this symposium, a paper on the History of Medicine in ancient India. This subject is important and it is one that has been poorly covered.

Symposia, seminars and conferences--both national and international--are not new innovations introduced in this country in the more recent past. They are as old as the culture of India and have formed an integral part of it. In fact, they represent an essential discipline of the cultural activities in ancient India and served as media for the exchange and dissemination of knowledge. Apart from the numerous *Sadas* conducted by kings, symposia, seminars and conferences, spoken of as *tadvidyāsaṃbāṣa pariṣads*, attended by experts and specialists in different aspects and specialities of medicine drawn from many parts of the then civilized world, took place from time to time in ancient India.

The Agniveśasamhita, known popularly as the Carakasamhita, after one of its important redactors, can be said to be a compilation of the transactions of a number of such symposia, seminars and

* Paper presented at the Symposium on History of Sciences of India held at the National Institute of Science of India, New Delhi (October 17-20, 1968) under the auspices of the National Commission for the Compilation of History of Sciences of India. The abridged version of this paper is being published in the Indian Journal of History of Science of the Indian National Science Academy.

conferences. The Suśrutasamhita, a contemporary work, is also seen to be more or less a record of a series of seminars through which the knowledge of *medicine, surgery and obstetrics was imparted to* Suśruta and others by Kāsirāja Divōdāsa Dhanvantary.

One such conference with which the Agniveśasamhita begins is, seen to have taken place on the slopes of Himalayas, to consider and devise measures to meet the challenge posed by the occurance of numerous new difficult and often fatal diseases which arose as a direct consequence of the shift from the *ādi-kāla* culture to that of the urban.[1] In another symposium, which took place in a similar setting, the *ṛiṣis* who attended it had to deal not only with diseases that were not known in the earlier periods but also with the growing problem of a rapid decline in the life-expectancy and premature senescence as well as infirmities of different kinds.[2] Between them, the proceedings of the two conferences, referred to above, provide extremely valuable information relating to the nature of the Indian society in the period described as ādikāla, corresponding to the pre-Ayurvedic period, and how the impact of urbanisation affected it. In fact, the change from an essentially agriculture oriented rural culture to that of the urban, in ancient India, is seen to have set the stage for the introduction, in the Indo-Gangetic plains, of a rational and systematised medical science from a more advanced culture and civilization that had developed in the mid-Himalayan regions, in the north.

In the present paper I have envisaged three broad periods, *viz*. pre-Ayurvedic, Ayurvedic and post-Ayurvedic which sums up the history of medicine in Ancient India.

The Ayurvedic Concept of the Genesis of the Science of life--Āyur-Veda--Including Medicine

Two versions of the origin and development of Āyurveda or the Science of Life--including medicine--furnished by the Agniveśa-

1. *Carakasamhita*, Sutra I
2. *Carakasamhita*, Cikitsa I, pādas III and IV

sāmhita deserve consideration and call for discussion. They have a direct bearing on the proto-history of India and Indian thinking. They are (1) a Naturalistic generalisation and (2) an account which is likely to stimulate the interest and imagination of archaeologists and historians of India.

The Naturalistic Generalisation : The Naturalistic generalisation expounded by Bhagavan Punarvasu Ātreya can be summed up thus; Āyurveda or the Science of life is eternal as it had no beginning and deals with (natural) tendencies that flow innately from nature. The nature of matter is eternal. There was at no time a break in the continuity, either of life or intelligence. The experience of life is perennial. Ease (*sukha*) and disease (*duhka*), with their respective causative factors, are without a beginning in view of their mutual interdependence. These form the group of subjects that are dealt by Āyurveda.[3] Amplifying this concept, the Bhagavan proceeds to say that, at no time can it be said that Āyurveda came into being, having not been in existence before, unless the receiving and imparting of knowledge by instruction be considered as its creation. Certain authorities, according to him, have treated the receiving and the imparting of the knowledge of Āyurveda by instruction, as the rise of the science at this or that time, He had added that, the fact of the case is that, the function of this science is implicit in nature and it owes nothing to artifice.[4]

The Bhagavan, like other early preceptors of Āyurveda, has no doubt referred to the traditional belief that the knowledge of this science was originally derived from a divine source viz., Brahma. But, this should not detract our attention from the more interesting naturalistic view of Matter and Life advanced by him. This concept is seen to rest on the *niriswara sānkhya* doctrine of the evolution of the matter-stuff of the phenomenal universe and the elements of both the mind and senses, from the primordial matter or nature--the *mūlaprakṛti*. According to this doctrine, the potentiality of life is implicit in the different species of *bhūtānūs* (atom of matter) and it is stated to manifest when *aṇūs* combine, under suitable condi-

3. *Carakasamhita, Sutra 30, 27.*

4. *Carakasamhiia, Sutra 30, 27.*

tions *viz* ,, deśa (space), *kāla* (time) mode and *kāraṇakārya* (causality). Matter and life were, therefore, held to be not only inseperable but also eternal. At the fundamental level, at the level of Mass and Energy, everything exists in everything else, without prejuctice to the generic and specific difference of things. In this view, inorganic matter, vegetable and animal organisms are essentially and untimately one, so far as Mass and Energy are concerned.[5] This concept should invite attention to the current view that "Life originated from ordinary chemical reactions by a slow evolutionery process" and, at a fundamental level, Mass/Energy is the only permanent verity.

The difference between the earlier Indian ideas and the current views, referred to above, relate, in the case of the former, to the theory that the slow process of evolution observed at the organic level is only an extension of similar process that has been going on, all the time, at the socalled non-living inorganic level, whereas, the latter envisages the process of envolution as being confined to the living organic level only. Stated in brief, the *ancient Indian naturalists* held that "the life-stream carried in its current, its own supporting and protecting wisdom that became manifest at the beginning of each cycle of time."[6]

Āyurveda and Vedas: I would like to refer, in passing to the traditional view which sees the origin of Āyurveda in *Vedas* specially the *Atharvaveda*. Suśruta has referred Kāsirāja—Divōdāsa Dhanvantary as having stated that Āyurveda was originally a sub-section of *Atharvaveda*.[7] It is, however, seen that while such terms as *biṣak*, *Salyavaidyās*, *Salyahara*, *rōgahara*, *biṣakarthavān*, *Viṣahara*, *Oṣadhi*, *ārthavan*, *Āngiras* and *Aświns* find frequent mention in *Vedas*, the term Āyurveda does not appear to occur at all in them. It would appear that the highly systematised and rationalised Āyurveda, in its eight specialities—the *Aṣtānga-Ayurveda*—was not the direct outcome of the earlier vedic-medicine. It is also seen that the medical knowledge and experience of the vedic-period served as

5. *Yogavartika, Sutra 3, Pada IV & Sutra 14, Pada III.*
6. *Carakasamhita, Vol. I, P 17, Jamnagar Edition,*
7. *Susrutasamhita, Sutra-I*

the background on which the new knowledge-exotic in origin—was Planted, leading to the synthesis of the two. The reason why the early preceptors of Āyurveda swore allegiance to the *Atharvaveda*, is furnished by Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya. He observes. "The physician should declare his allegiance to the *Atharvaveda*, from among the four *viz. Rig*, *Sāman*, *Yajur* and *Atharvan*, because the Veda of the *Athārvans* stands for medical treatment by advocating (such measures as) alms-giving, propitiatory rites, oblations, auspicious observations, sacrifices, regimen, penances, fasts and incantations, and treatment of course, is laid down with a view to benefit life".[8] It will thus be seen that Āyurveda was not a natural outcome of the medicine of *Atharvaveda* and that, the two are usually linked together by their common objective, namely, the promotion and preservation of life.

Shift From Ādikāla Life to Life Under Urban Culture and The Birth of Rational Medicine A Significant Landmark :

We owe to the Agnivesaśamhita, an insight into the condition of society, culture and civilization of India from the beginning of the fourth millennium B. C.

The pre-Āyurvedic (or *Ādikāla*) period is significant and important for more than one reason. In the first place, it was during this period that Āyurveda, which aims at the preservation and maintenance of helath and promotion of longevity, on the one hand and, the prevention or relief and/or cure of the disease, on the other, was introduced in the Indo-Gangetic valley towards the close of this period and, later on, it spread to other parts of the country. It was also during this period that the health and life promoting principles and tenets reflected in *śwasthavṛtta* and *sadācāra* postulated by Āyurveda became a way of life and were practised by both the elite and the generality of toe people.

In the second place, it was during the early phases of this period, that the inadequacy of the vedic-medicine to meet the growing needs of a changing society and the rapidly developing urban culture and civilization was realised. This was followed by action

8. *Carakasamhita, Sutra 30. 21.*

to import the much needed knowledge of a rational and advanced system of medicine from beyond the confines of the north Indian plains.

In the third place, the *samhitas* of Agniveśa, Suśruta and Kāsyapa have referred to a more advanced and highly developed culture that existed in the cold districts of mid-Himalayas which is seen to have profoundly influenced the development and growth of not only the Science and Art of Medicine of the plains below but also its culture and civilization. These *samhitās* provide sufficient internal evidence to show that the culture of the Indo-Gangetic plains-the *Bhrammāvarta*-belonged, more to the Himalayas in the north, than to any place in the north-west or outside the Indian sub-continent, assuming that the mid-Himalayan region – Iḷāvṛta—which is supposed to have been the cradle of an ancient culture and civilization, was a part of proto-Historic India. I have, in what follows, drawn from exhaustive references to the genesis of Āyurveda that obtain in the Agniveśaśamhita.

Pre-Āyurvedic Period: It is gathered from this *śamhita* that the outlook of Indian culture in the period described in it as '*ādikāla*' or the earlier phases of kṛtayuga, according to some, and the era that preceded the former, according to others, was one of the forests and villages and agriculture-oriented. It was marked by simple living and high thinking. Its community-life was governed and regulated by high moral and ethical codes. The expectancy of life of the members of this community is seen to have been incredibly long and they lived in harmony with nature and close to the divine. Nature too is stated to have been kind and bountiful. Ill-health and disease would appear to have been rare and uncommon in this society. According to Bhagawān Punarvasu Atreya, as recorded by his pupil Agniveśa in his *samhita*, " In the beginning-ādikala-men were endowed with strength equal to that of *Aditi*. They were exceedingly blameless and unhampered in their prowess, had direct knowledge of Gods, God-like sages, divine law, the sacrifices, the sacrificial injunctions and the ritual. They possessed bodies that were compact and firm like adamant, clear senses and complexions, speed, strength and prowess like those of the wind; they were callipygian and, their stature, lineaments, carriage and build accorded with their forms; they were devoted to truth, rectitude, compassion, charity, self-restraint, moral discipline, spiritual endeavour, fasting,

continence, and religious vows; they were free from fear, desire, aversion, infatuation, greed, anger, despondency, pride, disease, sleep, indolence, fatigue, langour, sloth and the spirit of acquisition. And, lastly they were endowed with unlimited longevity. For the benefit of these people of heroic minds, qualities and deeds the crops were replete with wonderful properties *viz., rasa, virya, vipāka, prabhava* and *guṇas*, for the earth, during the dawn of the *krtayuga*, was charged to the full with all the excellent qualities[9]". The duration of *ādikala* is seen to be indeterminate. In the present state of the knowledge of Indian proto-history and considering the nature of evidence now available, which is regrettably meagre, it may be safe to assume that, regardless of its actual duration, this period may refer to the earlier Vedic age or better still the pre-Āyurvedic age.

The shift from the *ādikāla* life and culture, to a life in townships, city-states and under urban civilization, according to this *samhita* is seen to have set the pace for allround and rapid deterioration, followed by a steep decline in the moral and ethical values leading *pari pasu* to political, economic and emotional imbalances and the occurance of numerous difficult and often fatal diseases, an increase in the mortality rate and a corresponding fall in the expectancy of life. The *Bhagawān* is seen to have observed that "As the *kṛtayuga* wore on, those who were better circumstanced became heavy of body, bred lassitude; lassitude gave rise to indolence; indolence created the need for the accumulation of goods; the accumulation necessitated acquisition; the spirit of acquisition engendered greed. All these came to pass in the *kṛtayuga*."[10]

Referring to the several consequences that followed in the wake of the decline of moral and ethical values-*dharma*-referred to above the *Bhagawān* is seen to have observed: "Therefore, the bodies of beings, failing to receive sustenance as before from the progressively deteriorating quality of food, the lack or inadequacy of exercise and afflicted by heat and wind, soon succumbed to attacks of fevers and other diseases. Thus, there was a gradual decline in

9. *Carakasamhita, Vimana 3, 24.*

10. *Carakasamhita.*

the life span enjoyed by successive generations. Thereafter, in the second age the *tretāyuga*, greed brought malice in its wake; malice led to falsehood; falsehood let loose lust, anger, vanity, hatred, cruelty, aggression, fear, affliction, grief, anxiety, distress and the like. Consequently, in the second age, *dharma* found itself deprived of a quarter of its plenitude. From this loss of the fourth part of *dharma*, there followed a similar deterioration in the course of *succeeding ages and in the beneficient power of the earth and* other natural elements. It is, in consequence of this deterioration, there took place a corresponding deterioration in the sap, purity and other properties of herbs *viz.*, *rasa*, *vīrya*, *vipaka*, *prābhaya* and *guñas*". [11]

That the ṛṣis were also deeply involved in this change and not spared of the consequences which caused great concern to them, is seen from a further observation made by *Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya*. Says the *Bhagawān*: "It came about, in the course of time, the *ṛṣis*-both the cloistered and peripatetic-became, by taking to an urbanised dietary and drugs, luxurious and leisurely in their habits and, for the most part, deficient in health *(elsewhere he has* made a categorical statement that all ills of the body arise from an urban dietary). Finding themselves, in consequence, unequal to the observance of the code of obligations which their order enjoined on them and realising that the blame lay with their urban residence, these *ṛṣis*, headed by *Bhṛgu*, *Àngiras*, *Atri*, *Vasiṣta*, *Kāśyapa*, *Agastya*, *Pulastya*, *Vāmadeva*, *Asita*, *Gautama* and others, returned to their original dwelling, remote from the evils of city-life, namely the Himalayas". [12]

It is seen that the deteriorating situation beçame unmanageable by about the *trētātyuga* and it affected not only the generality of *people but also the ṛśis themselves.* A solution to the problem of increasing incidence of premature senellity, different diseases and mounting death-rate could not be found with the resources of the medical knowledge then available i.e., the vedic-medicine. Hence, according to the *Agniveśaśamhita*, a conference of great *ṛṣis*, was

11. - Carkasamhita,

12. Carakasamhita, Cikitsa 1, Pada III, 3.

convened, on the slopes of the Himalayas, to consider and find a solution to the vexing and serious problems that had arisen. In the words of *Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya*, as recorded by Agnivasa, 'When diseases arose like so many impediments to the austerity, fasting, study, continence and vows of the embodied souls, then the great sages, the doers of good, having compassion for creatures foremost, met on the sacred slopes of the Himalayas. *Angiras, Jamadagni, Vasiṣta, Kāsyapa, Bṛgu, Ātreya, Gautama, Sānkhya, Pulastya, Nārada, Asita, Agastya, Vāmadeva, Mārkandeyā, Āsvalayana, Pariksi, Ātreya* the mendicant, *Bharadwāja, Kapinjala, Visvāmitra, Āsmarthya, Bhārgava, Cyavana, Abhijit, Gārgya, Sāndilya, Kaundinya, Vaksi, Devāla* and *Gālava Sānkrtya, Vaijavāpi, Kasusika, Bādarāyana, Badisa, Saraloma,* and both *Kāpya* and *Kātyāyana, Kānkāyana, Kaikseya, Bhaumya: Marica, Sarkarākṣa, Hiranyakṣa, Lokākṣa* and *Paingi;* likewise, *Saunaka, Sakuneya, Maitreya, Maimatayani,* the forest dwelling hermits. *Vālakhilyās,* and likewise, other great sages all of them veritable mines of Brahmic lore and of restraint and discipline, and resplendent with the glow of austerities, like fires fed with oblations, seated with ease, initiated the following enquiry: 'Health is the supreme foundation of *dharma, artha, Kāma* and *mokṣa.* Now, diseases are the destroyers of health, of good life itself. Now, the great impediment to the progress of humanity has arisen in the form of diseases. What shall be the measures to remedy the situation ?" [13]

After considerable discussion, covering the different aspects of the problem, the conference is seen to have decided to depute the sage Bhāradwāja to Indra, the '*amarādipati*' of Himalayas to obtain the knowledge of measures for meeting the challenge of diseases that had cropped up. According to the *Agniveśasamhita,* the great *ṛṣis* approached Indra twice, once by Bhāradwāja, in an one-man commission and, on another occasion, by a team of their representatives. (In this paper, the two deputations have been clubbed together). The sages are stated to have met Indra in his abode in the Himalayas and addressed him thus: "Diseases have arisen which are the terror of human beings. What, O Lord of the immortals, are the appropriate means for remedying them?" [14]

13. *Carakasamhita, Sutra I, 8-15*

14. *Carakasamhita, Cikitsa I, Pada IV, 4*

Indra is then stated to have referred to the source of his own knowledge and summed up the causes that were responsible for decay and diseases that had overtaken the humanity, thus: "........ I see that you are afflicted by lack-lustre and have suffered impairment of voice and complexion. These are the evils resulting from life in town and its unhappy consequences. Town dwelling is indeed the source of all evils......[15] He then "taught the science of causes (etiology), symptomatology and therapy to Bharadwāja". [16] On his return to the plains from Himalayas, the sage Bharadwāja is stated to have imparted the knowledge of Āyurveda, acquired by him from Indra, to other *ṛṣis* for whom he deputised at Indra's court. Thereafter, one of the *ṛṣis*, *Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya* taught the science to *Agnivesa*, *Bhela*, *Ksārapāṇi Hārita*, *Jātukaraṇa* and *Parāśara*, who, in their turn, wrote separate treatises of their own.

It is also seen from the *samhitas* of *Suśruta* and *Kāsyapa* that the latter and *Kāsipathy Divodāsa Dhanvantary* too obtained their knowledge of *kaumāra-bṛtya* and *salya-salākya tantras*, respectively, from Indra. This is in addition to the knowledge of Āyurveda, in general, which also they learnt from Indra. In their turn, they imparted their knowledge to several of their pupils who, for their part, wrote separate treatises on different specialities viz., surgery-general and special-treatment of diseases of the eye, ear, nose, mouth and head, obstetrics, pediatrics etc.

Post-Āyurvedic period; This period begins in the late third century A. D. after which no further or significant advance is seen to have taken place in the development of Āyurveda. On the other hand, the arrest of progress and gradual decline of Indian medicine characterises this period.

It will be seen from the account of genesis of medicine the Āyurveda—in the proto-historical period, furnished by the Agniveśa-śamhita, which is an authoritative secular treatise on medicine and, an encyclopaedic one at that, that the introduction of Āyurveda in

15. Carakasamhita,

16. Carakasamhita, Sutra 1, 24

the *Brahmavarta* from *Iḻāvṛtā* in the Himalayas, some time during the later phases of the *kṛtayuga* and its development in the *yugās* that followed, synchronised with the different vicissitudes through which Indian society had to pass, in the proto-historic India. From this point of view, at least three phases of its development could be made out. They are (i) the phase, corresponding to the period described as the *ādikala* which is seen not only to have preceded but also extended through the earlier parts of *krtayuga.* This phase pertains to the Agniveśaśamhita version of an ideal Indian community consisting of 'Men like Gods' who probably inhabited forests, hills, mountains and rural settlements. This was obviously not a primitive society of nomadic clans and tribes (ii) A phase commencing from about the middle of *krtayuga* and extending up to the concluding periods of *dwāparayuga.* (iii) The phase extending from the commencement of *Kaliyuga* to late third century A. D. corresponding to the Sunga-Kushāna period.

The reckoning of the probable dates of the commencement of *kṛta*, *treta* and *dwāpara yugas* may not be easy as they refer to aeons and not to centuries or millennia. Thus, *kṛtayuga* is said to comprise 17,28,000 years, *tṛetāyuga* 12,96,000 years. *dwāparayuga* 8,64,000 years and *kaliyuga* 4,32,000 years. These are incredibly long periods which may be considered fanciful rather than conceivable in the light of the archaeological data now available. We are. however, on relatively firm ground as regards the date of the commencement of the *kaliyuga.* Thus, according to *Aihole* inscription of Pulakesin II (seventh century A.D.) the Bharata War is stated to have taken place in 3102 B.C., which was the starting point of *kali* era, according to the astronomical tradition represented by Āryabhatta.[17] Monier Williams has noted that this *yuga* began between the midnight of the 17th and 18th February 3102 B.C. [18] The second and third phases refer to the period of progressive devolution of the Indian society from an ideal state of living, its gradual deterioration, keeping pace with the fast developing city-states and rapidly growing urban civilization.

17. *Epigraphia Indica, VI, pp. 11-12, See also 'The Vedic Age' p.268*

18. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* p. 854.

Dating

The dating of the probable preiod that may correspond to the *ādikālā pre-āvurvedic* period and the periods that succeeded it when an urban culture and civilization developed and, a rational medical system-the Āyurveda-was introduced in the Indo-Gangetic plains, is attempted here on the basis of (i) internal or literary evipence and (ii) archaeological grounds.

Internal or Literary Evidence : Internal or literary evidence relates to the contemporaneity of sage *Bharadwāja, Kāsirāja Divodāsa Dhanvantary* (the preceptor of *Suśruta*), *Rajṛṣi Visvāmitra* (father of *Susruta*), *Pratardana* (son of *Kāsirāja*), *King Dasaratha* of Ayodhya and his son *Sri Rāmacandra* and, *Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya.* It is seen that, according to *Taittriya-Brāhmaṇa* and *Mahābhārata,* sage *Bharadwāja* who was the *purohita* of three generations of the rajas of Kāsi,[19] imparted, initially, the knowledge of Ayurveda, to *Divodāsa* (*Dhanvantary*). The latter, according to the Susrutaśamhita, obtained further knowledge of Ayurveda, from Indra. [20] It is seen from the same work that *Kāsiraja* taught Āyurveda, in general and *Salyasalakya* in particular, to *Susruta* and others, in his hermitage which was situated in tde Himalayas, [21] According to *Harivamsa* and other Purānās' the Kāsiraja who lost to Heihayas in a war, abdicated in favour of his son *Pratardana,* and took refuge under sage *Bharadwaja* in the Himalayas.

It is further seen from Ramayana that *Kāsiraja Divodāsa* (*Dhanvantary*) was a close friend of *Raja Dāsarathā* of *Ayodhya* and also that, he was present at the *putrakāmesṭiyāga* performed by the latter before the birth of Sri Ramacandra and his brothers. [22] Even so, *Prātardana,* the son of the *Kāsirāja* is seen to have attended the coronation of Sri Ramacandra, after his return from exile. [23]

19. Preface to *Carakasamhita, Vol. 1 pp. 34-35, Jamnagar Edition*
20. *Susrutasamhito, Sutra I, 19.*
21. *Susrutasamhita, Sutra 2*
22. *Valmiki Ramayana, Balakanda, 13, 23.*
23. *Valmiki Ramayana, Uttarakanda, 38, 15-16.*

Suśruta is seen to have stated that he was the son of *Rājarṣi Visvāmitra.* [24] The latter, according to Ramayana, was closely associated with Sri Ramacandra at the time of his marriage with Sita. It is seen, besides, that most of the *ṛṣis* especially, *Jamadagni, Vasiṣta, Brgu,* Gautama, *Pulastva, Bhārgava, Bharadwāja, Atreya, Agastya* and *Visvāmitra* among others, belonged to the vedic-period and they were very aged at the time of *Rāmāyana.* It will be thus seen that the sage *Bharadwāja, Bhagavān Punarvasu Ātreva, Divodāsa Dhanvantary, Kāsyapa* and their disciples viz., *Agnivesa* and others, and *Susruta* and others, were contemporaries of *Śrī Ramācandra.* The *Rāmāyana* period, according to puranas and traditions, belongs to the concluding phases of the *tretāyuga.*

3000 B.C., if not earlier, has been suggested as the period of *Śrī Ramacandra.* The period somewhat earlier to 3000 B. C. is. therefore, likely to be the time when Āyurveda was introduced in the Indo-Gangetic plains. This date has been reckoned on the basis of (a) the geneology of *Ikṣvāku* dynasty and (b) the horoscope of *Srī Rāmacandra,* mentioned by *Vālmiki,* in his *Rāmāyana* and *Bhōja.* in his *Campu*[25].

From the point of view of geneology, *Sri Ramacandra* was removed from *Ikṣvāku* by 63 generations.[26] It has been assumed, for the purpose of calculation, that each ruler of the dynasty could not have reigned for more than a few decades. Toynbee had suggested on an average, 27 years per reign. Pargiter 18 and Srinivasa Iyengar 20. Proceeding on the basis of the 20 years that occupies the middle position between Toynbee's 27 and Pargitear's 18 years, the probable time of the birth of *Śrī Ramacandra* has been reckoned as 2040 B. C.[27] Proceeding on the basis that 65 generations intervened between *Vaivasvata Manu* (3100 B. C.) and *Śrī Ramacandra,* Sri Pusalkar has arrived at 1930 B. C. within the bracket of c. 2350-1950 as the period when the latter flourished.[28]

24. *Susrutasamhita, Chikitsa 2, 2 and Uttara 66, 11.*
25. *Valmiki Ramayana, Balakanda 18, 8-10 and Ramayana Campu, Balakanda, 29.,*
26. Srinivasa Iyengar P. T., *Advanced History of India, Hindu period, p. 50*
27. Srinivasa Iyengar P. T., *Advanced History of India, Hindu period, p. 50.*
28. Pusalkar, *Traditional History from the Earliest time, The Vedic Age p. 270*

From the point of view of the horoscope of *Śri Ramacandra*, mentioned both by *Vālmiki* and *Bhōja*, five planets are said to have been occupying positions of exaltation at the time of *Śrī Rāmacandra's* birth[29]. The late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, a well-known mathematician-astronomer of Madras, has, in his Indian Ephemeris, published by the Government of Madras in 1922, calculated the several periods, in the last about 5000 years, when the five planets, as in *Śrī Rāmacandra's* horoscope, occupied positions of exaltation. They are : 2909 B.C., 2732 B.C., 2435 B.C., 2055 B.C., 1818 B.C., 1201 B.C., 1141 B.C., 1041 B.C., 964 B.C., 727 B.C., 110 B.C., 50 B.C., 118 A.D., 568 A.D., and 805 A.D.,[30] It is seen that Pillai did not proceed with his reckoning beyond 2909 B.C. According to Srinivasa Raghavan's calculations, also based on the horoscopes of *Śrī Rāmacand·a* and *Śrī Krishna*, the former is stated to have belonged to 6000 B.C. and the latter, who lived for 125 years, belonged to 3207 B.C. to 3102 B.C.[31] Iyengar's reckoning of the probable date of *Śri Rāmacandra's* birth i.e. about 2040 B.C. is seen to be nearer 2055 B.C. of the Indian Ephemeris.

A compromise between the long periods that comprised the *dwāparayuga* plus the 5069 years which has elapsed since the advent of *kali* era and what would appear to be a relatively modern dates represented by the earliest figure furnished by pillai i.e, 2909 B.C. i, to assume that *Śri Rāmacandra* could not have belonged to a period later than 2909 B.C. or, in round number, 3000 B.C. If anything, it could have been earlier. His contemporaries sages *Bharadwāja Kāsirāja Divodāsa Dhanvantary, Kāsyapa, Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya, Suśruta, Agniveśa. Bhela* and others too must have belonged to nearly the same period. Even so, medicine as a rational science, must have been introduced sometime before this period. Likewise, the shift from the *ādikāla* or pre-Āyurvedic culture to that of the urban, must have become a *fait accompli* by this period.

29. *Valmiki Ramayana, Balakanda 18, 8-10 and Ramayana Campu, Balakanda 29.*

30. Swami Kannu Pillai, L.D., *Indian Ephemeris Vol. I.*

31. Srinivasa Raghavan, R, *N.rsimha Priya, pp5, 9–62 April 1967.*

(ii) *Archaeological Grounds*: It will be seen, from the foregoing, that from the point of view of literary evidence and astronomical grounds, about 3000 B.C. would approximately represent the lower limit and the third century A.D. the upper limit of the timebracket, for the evolution of rational medicine in the protohistoric period. The period anterior to the lower limit extending, possibility, beyond, the fifth millennium B.C. may be considered to represent the period *ādikala* or pre-*āyurvedic* culture. This suggestion, unless supported by archaeological evidence may prove to be hypothetical, like many others advanced from time to time, in the past. However, support to this hypothesis comes from the more recent contributions made by Indian archaeology. A part of these contributions relate to the combined exploration and excavation of Mohenjo-daro and other Harappan sites in the Indus Valley and elsewhere and a part from similar efforts in some of the important sites in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*, such as Ahichchatra, Hastinapur, Alamgirpur and Kausāmbi, among others.

As regards the former, various estimates have been suggested for its cultural period. It has been stated that the Indus valley civilization lasted from about *c.* 2800 B.C. to *c.* 2200 B.C. Its mature phase was placed at about *c* 2300 B.C. corresponding to the period of the Sargon dynasty.[32] According to another estimate, *c.* 2350-1800 B.C. would represent the maximum bracket for this civilization. This estimate is seen to be based on the discovery of a few Harappan stone seals in the ancient Mesopotamian sites. The Harappan seals found in reliably dated Mesopotamian strata belong to a period dating from 2350 B.C. to 1800 B.C."[33] However, "the recent C_14 dates available for the mature Harappan states in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent have established that Harappans flourished between circa. 2300-1750 B.C,"[34]

32. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, *Civilization of Indus Valley and Beyond, p. 64.*

33. Dales, George F, *The Decline of Harappans, The American Review, p. 20, October, 1966.*

34. Dikshit K.N., *Harappa Culture and its aftermath, Archeocivilisation (Antipuites Nationales etc. Internationales), No. 3-4, Dec. 1967, p. 28.*

It is now recognised that Indus civilization had a long antecedent development before the Harappan culture reached its main cultural period. The borings carried out by Dales in 1965, "below the present level of the flood plain at Mohenjo-daro" is seen to have shown "that the earliest occupation begins no less than 39 feet below the present surface". Adding the height of the "adjacent mound—some 30 feet—a total accumulation of nearly 70 feet is accepted. No excavator has yet penetrated downwards through the 25 feet of water which drown the lower strata".[35] Since the Mesopotamian contact of 2300 B.C. must have come from "relatively higher levels, it is considered that the lowermost occupation levels, corresponding to the 25 feet submerged in the sub-soil water, may be taken to refer to the earliest occupation periods.[36] Says *Dales*, "Perhaps the twentyfour feet of water-logged occupation layers at *Mohenjo-daro*, containing as they should, a record of the city's earliest development will help to illuminate the question of Harappan origin".[37]

Having regard to the position stated above, Sir Mortimer Wheeler has suggested that "the whole problem of initial date be kept open".[38] Pusalkar has, on the other hand opined that "the Indus civilization may well reach beyond 3500 B.C."[39] Regardless of the difference of about a thousand years on either side, the lower limit of the time-bracket, roughly 3000 B.C., proposed by me, on the strength of internal evidence, derives some support from Indian archeological developments. I may note here that, proceeding on the assumption that the *Ramayana* period was about 3000B.C. *Saurashtra*, *Sindhu-Sauvira* and *Gandhara* mentioned in this epic, were in contact with Ayodhya which was already the capital of the Solar dynasty. The Agnivesasamhita also refers to these places, in addition to Bahlika, and the same is seen to be the case with Mahabharata also, even assuming that the period of the two epics and Agnivesasamhita was early second millennium B.C.

35. Wheeler, *Op. cit.*
36. Dales, George F., *p. 21. Op. cit.*
37. Wheeler, Sir. Mortimer, *Op. cit.*
38. Pusalkar A.D., *Indus Valley Civilization, The Vedic Age, p. 192.*
39. Lal B.B., *Expeditions and Excavations since Independance, Hundred years of Indian Archaeology, Cultural Forum, December 1961, p. 22*

It may perhaps be relevant to the present context to refer to the extensive spread of the Indus (Harappan) culture in the Indian sub-continent in the period covered by the time-bracket proposed by me. Combined exploration and excavation show that this civilization was not confined to the Indus Valley only. It is seen that it had extended as far east as Alamgirpur, in the Ganga-Yamuna valley in Utter Pradesh, as far north as Rupur verging on the Sivalik foot-hills in Punjab, and as far south as Bhagatrav, on the Kim—a small river discharging into the Arabian Sea, between Narmada and Tapti. Excavation at Lothal, in Saurashtra has revealed 'a port-town' with 'a typical Harappan assemblage along with a dock-yard'. The discovery of seals of Harappan culture at several sites in Iraq and a Baharain seal at Lothal "point to the possibility of trade connections between India and western Asia during the third and second millennium B.C".[40]

As regards the latter, the progress of archaeological excavations and explorations of sites of great antiquity, historical and cultural importance, have been rather slow and not comparable to the progress of similar operations at Indus valley and other Harappan sites elsewhere. It may be noted that, of the numerous sites of cultural and historical importance in this region, Kampilya, the capital of *Pāncāla* and Kasi were intimately associated with medical and surgical developments respectively, in ancient India. Besides, Āyurveda was a product of the culture of the *doab* and, in its spread, it is seen to have extended to and embraced not only the Indus valley but also the southern peninsula. As stated by Sir Mortimer. "The exploration of the two river country, or *doab*, of the Ganges-Jamuna (Ganga-Yamuna) basin is still in rudimentary stage."[41] The recent excavation at Rajghat has pushed back the antiquity of this place, say to about *c.* 800 B-C. The modern town of Varanasi, which is situated on the vestiges of earlier habitations, if excavated, is likely to throw light on the earlier culture which may possibly go beyond the period of Rajghat.

40. Wheeler, Sir, Mortimer, *Op. cit. p. 93.*

41. Ancient India, Bulletin of Archaelogical Survey of India, Nos. 10 & 11., 1954–1956, Table 1

For the present purpose, however, periods I to IV of Hastinapur are important, specially for fixing the lower limit of the time-bracket. Period I is seen to correspond to pre-1200 B.C. which has been described as the 'Desertion phase'. Period II represents the phase of 'Heavy floods' in Ganga which washed away considerable portions of the settlement leading to the abandonment of Hastinapura. This period corresponds to *c.* 1100 B. C. to *c.* 850 B. C. It is seen to include "many sites associated with the Mahabharata story e.g., Mathura, Ahichchatra, Kurukshetra, Barnawa etc." It is of significance to note that the washing away of Hastinapura by floods in Ganga has been described in Puranas which also say that the capital had in consequence, to be shifted to Kausambi in the reign of Nicaksu, a direct decendent of Pandavas. Period III refers "to large scale conflagration and break in occupation". It corresponds to early sixth century B.C. to early third century B.C. and the material culture here "is comparable to that of N.B.P. deposits at Kausambi". The period IV refers, again, to the phase of 'Desertion', corresponding to "the early second centry B.C. to the late third century A.D.". It is characteristic of "Sunga-Kushan levels of North Indian sites".[42] According to Sharma, "Kausambi had a close link with Navadatoli", a predominantly Harappan site", for which radio-carbon dating furnishes a date roughly 1500 B.C. to 1100 B.C.".[43]

It will be seen that the flooding of Hastinapura and the shifting of the capital to Kausambi took place by about 1100 B.C. and also that Hastinapura was well set round about 1500 B.C. The period anterior, not only to 1200 B.C. but also to 1500 B.C. remains to be archaeologically accounted for. For, according to traditional and puranic genealogy, as reckoned by Pargiter, 1015 (1050) years intervened between the time of the birth of *Parikṣit* and that of *Mahāpadmananda* (382 B.C.). In this view, the Kurukshetra war should have taken place by about 1397 B.C. (or 1400 B.C.). On the other hand, Pusalkar, who has also proceeded on the basis of puranic and traditional genealogy, suggested 3110 B.C. as the probable time of Kurukshetra war. He is seen to have arrived at this

42. Sharma G. R., *The Excavations at Kausambi (1957–59) p. 7.*

43. Pusalkar, *Op. cit. p. 269.*

date on the basis that 95 generations separated Vaivasvata Manu from the Mahābhārata war. He has, like Pargiter, assigned 18 years, on an average, to each generation and arrived at 1710 years as the period that intervened between Vaivasvata Manu and the Mahābhārata War. Adding this span of time to 1400 B.C. which represents, approximately, the time of Mahābhārata war, he has arrived at the figure 3110 B.C. which is close to the time traditionally suggested for the advent of *kaliyuga*. In this view, the decendents of Pandavas ruled at Hastinapura and later at Kausambi for about 2010 years after Mahabharata war [44] The difference of about 300 years between the figures of Pargiter and Pusalkar is not much and it may be covered by the margin generally allowed for errors.

The foregoing are important in more than one sense. For one thing, Āyurveda is essentially a product of the culture of the Ganga-Yamuna basin. Its development, spread and decline was coeval with the cultural vicissitudes of this region. For another, the account of the vicissitudes of the changing society, specially the shift from the *ādikala* or pre-Āyurvedic culture to that of an urban, described vividly by the *Agnivesasamhita*, has a direct bearing on the occurance, in this region, "with seeming suddenness an evolved and widespread culture almost worthy of the name 'civilization' by about the second quarter of the first millennium B.C.". The third point and, perhaps, an important one, refers to the relationship between the cultures of the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* and the Indus valley which, as will be seen later, were not different but mutually determining.

The present position of Indian archaeology as regards the culture of Ganga-Yamuna basin, relevant to this paper can be summed up thus; Very little is known about the culture of the *doab* prior to the II period of Hastinapura i.e., about 1100 B.C., eventhough, as pointed out by Sharma "Kausambi" had a close link with Navdatoli, for which radio-carbon dating furnishes a date roughly from 1500 B.C. to 1100 B.C.". He has added that "The very idea of town-life was so far unknown in the Gangetic

44. Sharma G.R., *Op. cit. p. 6*

valley".[45] According to Sir Mortimer Wheeler, "Civic life in recognizable form begins only with Period II in the earlier half of the first millennium B.C.[46] He adds, "The date of this urban culture, with its mixed farming, seems to have been about 1000 or 800 B.C. Its earlier roots have not yet been recognised, but the excellence of the Painted Grey Ware implies an established tradition " On the basis of this and other evidence, he observes, "Urban life began in the *doab* about 1000 B.C., and, since that time has been continuous here."[47] The discovery of the 'anonymous copper hoards there arose, in the same region, with seeming suddenness, an evolved and widespread urban culture almost worthy of the name 'civilization'. Its origins. historical or archaeological, are unknown, though it clearly deserves a respectable parentage. If the hoards are not Aryan why should this new and burgeoning urbanity claim the title? The claim has indeed been made but there is no particle of evidence for (or against) it. Let us admit uncompromisingly that no 'Aryan culture, has yet been isolated anywhere in India as a material and recognizable phenomenon." ..... " In summary, year after year, fresh evidence points to a great burgeoning of civic life on the northern plains by the second quarter of the first millennium B.C."[48]

Referring to "the distinctive series of hoards of copper rarely bronze, objects which are readily recognizable though inadequately understood described as 'the anonymous copper hoards' in the foregoing "over a wide stretch of the country" *vis a vis* a possible Harappan influence on the culture of and its penetration in the Ganga-Yamuna basin, says Sir Mortimer, "The only specimen found in significant context is the fragment of an anthropomorph from the Harappan site of Lothal in Saurashtra; but, useful though this solitary stray be as an indication that the type existed, at least, as a scrap, not much later than the eighteenth or seventeeth century B.C. It is culturally out of context in a Harappan environment. For the rest, no hint is available as to the dating of these

45. Wheeler, Sir. Mortimer, *Op. cit. p. 98.*
46. Wheeler, Sir. Mortimer, *Op. cit. p. 99.*
47. Wheeler, Sir. Mortimer, *Op. cit. pp. 93–102.*
48. Wheeler, Sir. Mortimer, *Op. cit. 95–96.*

hoards, unless it be their complete absence from numerous sites which have produced the now familiar Painted Grey Ware. This marks the earliest mature civilization in the Gangetic plain and is ascribable to the first half of the first millennium B.C. The non-association may safely be taken to imply that the hoards are earlier than *c.* 1000 B.C.; a bracket of *c.* 1700–1000 B.C. is probably therefore wide enough to catch them, wide enough too to emphasize the need for much more precise knowledge." [49]

Referring to the implications of the hoards, he proceeds to observe; "What do the hoards themselves tell us? The flat axes with more or less expanded blades are the only formal link with the Indus civilization, and that type is too generalized and widespread to support the view, which has been stated, that the hoards represent 'the colonization of the Ganges basin by refugees and displaced persons from the Punjab and Indus valley during the time of the break of the Harappa Empire and the coming of raiders from the west.' An alternative theory that the hoards may be 'in fact traces of Indo-Aryan migration' is equally difficult to sustain. They cannot be traced to any source outside India; and in any event the term 'Indo-Aryan' relates to language, not to material culture." [50]

The contributions of Indian archaeology, referred to above have, it will be seen, lent support to the lower and upper limits of the time-bracket which cover the periods of the orgin, development, spread, arrest and decline of *Āyurveda*, They have, in addition, lent support to the Agnivesasamhita version of the *ādikala* in which 'the idea of town-life was unknown' in the northern plains and the sudden 'burgeoning' civic life in the Ganga-Yamuna basin, in what may be called the *post-ādikala* periods. It is equally significant to note that the archaeological developments, under reference, have led to fresh thinking about the origins of the culture of the Ganga valley. Thus, the earlier hypothesis of an Indo-Aryan influence on the culture of the *doāb* is now seen to be in the process of giving way to the view that, though the origins

49. Wheeler, Sir. Mortimer, *Op. cit. p. 96.*

50. Srinivasa Iyengar P.T., *Op. cit. p. 36.*

of the latter are unknown, yet 'it clearly deserves a respectable parentage',

It is necessary to note, in this connection, that the Himalayan origin of the culture of the Indo-Gangetic plains below, as in the case of *Āyurveda* described by the *Agnivesasamhita* has received scanty attention till now. This view calls for close scrutiny and a reappraisal. Some early Indologists, Historians of India and Indian archaeologists of the eminence of Pargiter, Srinivasa Iyengar and Chanda. respectively, have in the early twenties (thirties) of this century, advanced the view based on 'traditions recorded in Veda and puranas' that, 'Aryas brought their firecult and the language associated with it from the region in and beyond the mid-Himalayas called *Iḷavarta* [51]... The Aryas mainly represented *Ṛṣi* clans came to seek their fortune in small numbers more or less as mirssionaries of the cult of *India*, *Varuna*, *Agni* and other Gods of nature and settled down in peace under the protection of the native rulers.... ."[52] The availability of valuable and authentic information, in this regard, in the early *Āyurvedasamhitas* was obviously not known or brought to the notice of these authorities.

However, in the light of these early views, as well as the *Agnivesasamhita* version of the place from where the Science and Art of Medicine—the *Āyurveda*—was derived and introduced in the Indo-Gangetic plaines it is suggested that the cold districts in the middle of Himalayas may have nurtured an advanced culture round about the third millennium S.C. It is of significance to note, in this connection, that while Harappans were flourishing in the Indus valley, a number of pre-Harappan neolithic cultures were also seen to have been flourishing in the foot-hills of Himalayas and Vindhyas, as is evident from the exploration of Himachal Pradesh and southern U.P., although it is not not possible, at the moment, to assign any fixed chronological order. This culture complex of Himalayas may have been some references to *Iḷāvrata*

51. Srinivasa Iyengar P. T. *Op, cit. 36.*
52. *Kern's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 16. 33 & 45.*

mentioned in ancient Indian literature, as the cradle of culture. It is also suggested that there must have been a regular and active cultural traffic between the Himalaya districts, mentioned above, and the northern plains below in the same period. This suggestion is also based, among others, on a legend that *Lord Buddha* and *Śakra* (*Indra*) met a number of times and, on one occasion, the former spent three months in the latter's abode, It is also seen, according to this source, that *Śakra* (Indra) along with *Ānanda*, *Anuruddha* and others participated in the performance of the last rites of *Lord Buddha*.[53] These traditions lend support to the view that the *Indra* (*Sakra*)—tradition was in vogue even as late as the fifth century B.C. and persisted thereafter for a long time in the Buddhist literature. A search for evidence relating to this early culture in the mid-Himalayan regions, even if it ultimately yields negative results, is worth making. If, on the other hand, this enquiry yields useful datum, that may go a long way in throwing light on not only the origin of Indian medicine but also on the '*respectable parentage*' *of the culture of the* Indo-Gangetic plāins.

Another equally significant point that emerges from the *Agnivesa samhita* version of the culture of the *ādikāla* relates to its possible contemporaneity with the earliest period of antecedent development of the main Harappan culture, corresponding to the 24 feet of the submerged occupation level at *Mohenjo-daro*. It may be considered, as a logical corollary, that the Indus valley, as indeed, the regions in the north, north-west, and south which later came under the influence of the Harappan culture, may have initially shared the *ādikala*-culture with the Ganga-Yamuna basin.

It is further suggested, that, townships, city-states, urban culture and civilization may have begun evolving in the Indus-valley long before similar developments replaced the *ādikala* culture in the Ganga-Yamuna basin. The anteriority of the development of an urban culture and civilization in the Indus valley and the westerncoast of India may have been largely due to an immediate

53. Pusalkar, *Op. cit. 187.*

and increasing maritime and overland contacts with the developing civilization in the Euphrates-Tigris basin. Such was obviously not the case with the Ganga-Yamuna basin during contemporary periods in which the *ādikala* culture must have continued to exist uninfluenced by the developing trends in the Indus valley. The only possible contact it must have had was perhaps with *Saindhava-Sauvira*, *Saurashtra*, *Gandhara* and *Bahlika*. It would also appear that slow changes that were taking place in the countries mentioned above, notwithstanding, they still continued to be rooted in the same culture that was in vogue in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*. This observation gains support, for example, from the current view based on the study of seals found at Mohanja Daro which carry the figure of the 'Yogēswara' aspect of '*Śiva* (*Pasupati*)'; that "Siva was one of the principal deities of the people".[54] Besides as regards the reference to *Siva* that occur in *Rigveda*,[55] his abode has been, both according to texts and traditions, Mt. Kailasa in the Himalayas. The find of *Siva* (*Pasupati*) seals in the Indus valley, therefore betokens the prevalence of the Ganga-Yamuna valley culture in this area.

Tha above apart, there is adequate evidence in literature *viz.*, the early Āyurvedic, which are secular works, and the two Indian epics which relate to events that took place at two distrinct periods of time and belong to the *doab*, to show that the western, middle, northern, eastern and southern regions of ancient India shared a common culture with possiblity some regional variations and they were in constant contact with each other. Thus the *Bhela-samhita* which has reached us in its original form though in a highly mutilated condition, has referred to *Gandhara* in the contex of of the kingship or Nagnajit.[56] *Bhela* was one of the pupils of *Bhagavan Punarvasu Atreya* who, as pointed out elsewhere, may have belonged to about 3000 B.C. Both *Sathapatha*[57] and *Āitreya*[58] *Brahmana* have also referred to *Nagnajit* as the ruler of *Gandhara*. *Bhelasamhita*, as indeed, the other equally early *Ayurvedasamhitas* have included *saindhava* and *sauvarcala-lavanas* in many of

54. *Rig Veda, II. 6. 33.9; X. 92.9.*
55. *Bhelasamhita, Sutra 18, 1.*
56. *Sathapatha Brahmana, 8, 1.4.10,*
57. *Aittriya Brahmna 7, 35.*
58 *Valmiki Ramayana, Balakavda, 13-27.*

their formulations. By implication, these salts must have been introduced in the *Ganga-Yamuna* basin from *Saindhava* (Sind) and *Sauvira* (Multan ?). *Ramayana* has referred to the kings of *Sindhu-Sauvira* and *Saurashtra*,[59] Similarly, the *Mahabharata* has referred to *Jayadrata*, the ruler of *Sindhu-Sauvira*, as having attended *Draupadi's Swayamvara* at *Kampilya*, the capital of *Pancala*.[60] Likewise, this epic has counted *Jayadrata*, the kind king of *Sīndhu-Sauvira*, among those like *Drona*, *Salya*, *Sudhikshana*, *Kāmbhōja* and *Krtavarman* who joined the ranks of *Kauravas* against *Pandavas* in the *Mahabharata* war.[61] The well known *Samskrit* lexicon, the *Sabdakalpadruma*, has described the term '*sauviran*' that occurs in *Valmiki Ramayana*, as referring to the people who inhabited a district in the neighbourhood of *Sindhu*.[62] Another description of this term offered by this lexicon is that *Sauvira* is the place of great warriors.[63] Defining the term *Saindhavan*, the *Sabdakalpadruma* says that it refers to those who are either born of the sea of *Saindhavadesa* or belong to places not far from *Sindhu*.[64] The *Agnivesasamhita* has made a pointed reference by name to some of the principalities in the western wing of the Indo-Gangetic plains, the soil condition of these regions, their vegetation, people, food-habits and health conditions. Thus, according to *Bhagavān*, *Punarvasu Ātreya*, " The people of *Bahlika*, *Saurāshtra*, *Saindhava* and *Sauvira*—whether residents of the rural areas or city-dwellers or itenerants—indulge in salt. They become languid, flabby and anaemic and are unable to bear hardships. They habitually take salt even with milk. In saline regions herbs, creepers and trees do not grow or if they grow at all, they are of poor quality due to the inhibiting effects of salt on their growth ....Even persons who are adapted to salt suffer from premature baldness, grey hair and wrinkles." [65]

59. *Mahabharata, Adiparva, 13, 27,*
60. *Mahabharata, Adiparva,* Op. cit. Udyogaparva, 155, 32.
61. *Sabdhakalpadruma,* Vol. V, p. 427.
62. *Sabdhakalpadruma* Vol. V, p. 427.
63. ,, Vol. V, p. 414
64. *Carakasamhita,* Vimana 1, 18–19.
65. *Indian Archaeological Review,* 1958-59, pp. 50–55.

Without getting involved with more details, I may perhaps advance the view that, while the western and eastern wings of the Indo-Gangetic plains shared a common basic culture-complex of Himalayan origin, the evolution of an urban culture and civilization which may have begun earlier in the Indus valley may have invaded the *Ganga-Yamuna* basin at a much later period. It may be added that, whereas, the development of city-states and urban civilization in the Indus valley was gradual and spread over long periods of time, its impact on the *Ganga-Yamuna* basin at a much later period must have been sudden and its spread rapid. This observation is based on the more recent archaeological finds of the early and late 'Harappan type' in a number of sites in the *doab* e. g. at Alamgirpur corresponding to about 2000 B. C. It may be noted that the excavations at *Alamgirpūr*[66] and Bargaon[67] have revealed the existence of Harappan culture in Ganga-Yamuna basin but without any trace of town-planning as available in Indus valley. The stresses and strains engendered by the rapid changes in the conditions of life, in this area, must have created numerous problems affecting the health of the people that the medicine of the *ādikala* or *Āyurvedic* period must have found itself unequal to the task of successfully tackling them. This must have led to the introduction, in the *doab*, of a rational and systematised system of medicine—the *Āyurveda*—from an advanced culture complex of the mid-Himalayas. This system not only served as the basis of development of medicine in the *Ganga-Yamuna* valley, in subsequent periods, but also spread to the Indus valley, *Gāndhāra* and *Bahlika* farther north-west, and Saurashtra in the south. This observation is based, among others, on the mention made in the *Agnivesasamhita* to *Kankayana*, a physician from *Bahlika*, who participated in a seminar presided over by *Bhagavān Punarvasu Atreya* which discussed, among others, the normal and abnormal functions of *tri-doṣas* or the functiontriad of the living body.[68]

The foregoing apart, a few intriguing situations present themselves at this stage. They relate firstly, to the discovery, in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro, of an amazingly well-developed system of drainage, well-constructed houses with adjoining bath-rooms, well

66 & 67. *Indian Archaeology* 1963–64, A review pp. 56–57.

68. *Caraka*, Sutra, 12, 6.

laid water supply system etc., which attest to the remarkable skill of Harappans in town planning and sanitation. They provide adequate evidence to show, in the words of Marshall, "The existence, during the fourth and third millennium B. C., of a highly developed city life .. .. which betokens a social condition of the citizen similar to that found in Sumer and superior to that prevailing in Akkad and Egypt." Pusalkar has quoted an English writer, who visited Mohenjo-daro, as having observed that he felt himself "surrounded by ruins of some present day working town in Lancashire".[69] These finds show that the Harappans possessed a high degree of sanitary-sense and health-consciousness. Beyond this, there is hardly any indication, at Mohenjo-daro or in the regions which came under the influence of Harappan culture about the nature of medical science which was in vogue in these places The only available evidence about medicine in *Mohenjo-daro* relates to the discovery of "pieces of coal-black substance forming a dark-brown solution of water" identified as "Silajit"[70] and "horns of deers and antelopes, coral cuttle-fish bones[71] and leaves of *nim* (Azadirachta *indica*)".[72] These substances have not only been mentioned in early *Ayurveda samhitas*, in the treatment of diseases but are even today employed extensively by Vaidyas and Hakims, in their practice throughout India.

The interpretation of this find by Pusalkar that "All these specifics are still prescribed by *Ayurvedic* medicine, and thus, the origin of indigenous medicinal system of India may be traced to the Indus-Valley Civilization"[73] appears to my mind to be far-fetched and out of context. At any rate, the evidence on which he has relied is too meagre to warrant the conclusion referred to above. Internal evidence, as regards the origin and uses of *silajit*, deer and antelope horns etc., point to altogether different conclusion. *Silajit* which is a natural product, occurs in the lower Himalayas. Vindhya and other mountainous tracts. However, Nepal has always been

69. Pusalkar, *Indus Valley Civilization, The Vadic Age*, p. 169.

70 & 71. Marshall, Sir, John, *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civilization* (1931), Vol. II, pp. 29, 587-588 & 689-90.

72. Mackay, E.I.H., *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro* (1938), p. 423.

73. Pusalkar, *Indus Valley Civilization, The Vedic Age*, p. 178.

the main source of its supply. This refers, in general, to the black variety. The white variety known as *karpura silajit* occurs in Mt. Abu in Rajasthan. The early Ayurvedasamhitas have mentioned four varieties of it viz.. the golden, silver, copper and iron. Of these, the last mentioned which is black is considered to be the best. It is of importance to note that none of the four varieties of *silajit* is natural to and known to occur in the Indus valley. The black-variety found in *Mohenjo-daro,* it is obvious, must therefore have found its way into the Indus valley from either the lower Himalayas or Vindhya which, according to present evidence, did not form part of the *Harappan* civilization. In addition, the early *Ayurvedasamhitas* which have described *silaiit,* deer and antelope horns, coral, etc. were the products of the culture of Ganga-Yamuna doab. These *samhitas* have attached considerable importance to silajit as a vitalising agent *rasāyana.* They have dealt with it extensively.[74]

It will be agreed that, in the context of history of medicine in ancient India, the early *Āyurvedasamaitas* are, perhaps, the only authoritative and reliable source of information. Proceeding on this basis, the discovery of *silajit* and other substances at *Mohenjo-daro* may be treated as yet another point which favours the view advanced in this paper that the Indus valley and Ganga-Yamuna doab shared a common-basic culture and were contemporaneous.

Secondly, while Mohenjo-daro presents introvertible evidence of a highly developed sanitary sense and health-consciousness, there is as yet no indication about the kind of medical science Harappans possessed. The question if the Harappan medicine could have been different from that of the *Āyurveda* of the Ganga-Yamuna basin can be raised. In contrast, while the culture of the doab possessed many works dealing with a rational and highly systematised medical system in *Ayurveda* much of which is devoted to the promotion, maintenance and preservation of health *swasthavṛṭṭa* there is, as pointed out earlier, hardly any physical evidence to town-planning in the doab comparable to Mohenjo-daro, even in places such as *Alamgirpūr* and *Kavśāmbi* where evidence of late Harappan influence could be discerned.

74. Pusaklar, *Indus Valley Civilization. The Vedic Age.* p. 173.

Thirdly, as regards the question, if evidence of Harappan medicine may not be available in regions which were dominated by the Indus culture, including a characteristic system of medicine different and distinct from the *Ayurveda* of the *Ganga-Yamuna doab*, the position can be briefly summed up thus: from more recent accounts of the terminal phases of *Mohenjo-daro* and the Indus civilization, it is seen that its final collapse took place by about 1600-1500 B.C., the process of decline and deterioration having commenced some centuries earlier. Scholars entitled to authority consider that a complex of causes operated to bring about the abandonment of *Mohenjo-daro* and the decline of the Indus Valley Civilization. of which, the following are some: (i) recurrence of deep layers of marine deposit or salt-water molusca, at least on three (or perhaps more) occasions, through Harappan occupation. (ii) Marked coastal uplifts along with northern flanks of Arabian Sea, not earlier than the Harappan times. (iii) Periodical ponding back of esturine and flood-waters, leading to intermittent and abnormal swamping which seems to have occurred in *Mohenjo-daro.* (iv) Intermittent floods seem to have occurred in *Mohenjo-daro.* (v) Intermittent floods, helped by a process of attrition, wore down the morale of the inhabitants, the deterioration of which has long been recognised in the civic standards of the inhabitants. (vi) Economic decline and genetic decay of racial character which was everywhere apparent (vii) Abnormal and smothering floods had already destroyed the normal process of irrigation, the soil having turned saline. (viii) coup-de-grace to the dying civilization by roving bandits (and not Aryans). According to Dales "the Harappans met their end not with an Aryan bang but with an Indus expatriate's whimper"[75].

It is seen from available evidence that, apart from the southerly movement of the people of the Indus Valley during the main cultural period, due to the 'developing maritime trade, towards Persian Gulf', there was also an increasing exodus in the direction, described by Sir Mortimer as "a negative element in this southerly colonization", engendered by the deteriorating conditions in the valley. In this process, which was spread over a few centuries, the Indus culture, is seen to have shaded off into "Sub-Indus and successor cultures'. Thus, it has been possible to identify in Sau-

75. *Caraksasamhita, Cikitsa 7,* Pada 3, 48-65

rashtra and even farther south "a late developing branch of Indus civilization, varying locally and extending downwards in time towards 1600 B.C.[76] Sir Mortimer has designated this sub-culture as "Saurashtrian Indus".[77]

Summing up the position referred to above, observes Sharma, "In Kathiawar and Western India, archaeology has revealed still more coherent and significant story of the devolution of the Harappan culture. Beginning with an initial occupation with characteristic ingredients of the Harappan culture, many of the sites of this region show influence unknown to the ceramic traditions of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in pottery types, colours and in painting designs. Black-and-red Ware with paintings occurs along with the typical Harappan pottery at Lothan, Rangpur, Rojdi etc. Painting designs, similar to those from post-Harappan sites in Sind and the adjoining regions, have been noticed on the pottery of the Chalcolithic cultures from western India. It is now becoming abundantly clear that the Harappan culture in these new regions did not meet with a catastraphic end but was gradually assimilated by and transformed into new cultures. In Western India Harappan influences in pottery types and designs persisted in a transitional stage when other more important components of the Indus Civilization had disappeared". [78]

In view of the foregoing, it would prove to be an exercise in futility to search for written or other evidence to the Harappan medical system (if there was one such) at Mohenjo-daro or its satellite towns in the Indus valley, because these are likely to have moved out of the valley along with the refugee-emigrants, as they evacuated Mohenjo-daro, in the course of a few hundred years i.e., from 1700 B.C. to 1500 B.C. Even so, to seek for them in the refugee colonies in the south, may also prove to be an exercise in futility, as it is likely that the Harappan medical system, would have, in the course of centuries, become diluted and got lost in the medical systems prevalent in these places. From what we know,

76. Dales, George F., Op. cit. p, 27,
77. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, op. cit. p. 87,
78. Sharma, G. R. Op. cit, p, 4,

the Ayurveda of the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*, was the system which was in vogue in Saurashtra, Surat and Rajastan for as long as one can remember. It is likely that some clue about the Harappan medicine may be obtained by a diligent search into the traditional or folk-medicine of these places. Likewise, a search in Sumerian medicine of the contemporary periods is also likely to give some idea of the probable contribution the Harappan medicine may have made to the former. The *raison d' etre* for this is the close trade contacts which have been shown to have existed between the Indus valley and some of the west-Asian countries, between the third and second millennium B.C.

AN EIGHTH CENTURY INDIAN DOCUMENT ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

by

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The Gupta period left a legacy of unity and integration on the cultural and commercial planes even more than on political and administrative levels. Contacts between peoples of different places, exchanges of products of different provinces and undertakings of adventurers from different walks of life brought about a remarkable cohesion in the economic field. Facilities of travelling, incentives of profits and urges to have experiences of different countries led to the movements of peoples in groups, companies and caravans over long distances and difficult terrains. In marts, ports and fairs traders, merchants, and tourists of different regions and countries met chatted and recounted their experiences and exchanged the information they gathered. Their table talks, night tales and meeting notes often embodied trade guides, travel charts and economic directories and thus constituted precious documents of commercial geography of the then known world. We have such a document in a prākṛta narrative, the *Kuvalayamālākahā*, written by Uddyotanasūri at Jalaur in Rājasthān in 779 A.D., (1) which we propose to study here.

In the said work there is an anecdote of one Dhanadeva *alias* Lobhadeva of Takṣaśilā. He belonged to the śūdra community but was very energetic and enterprising as well as cunning and crooked. He planned a journey to the South (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*) to sell horses and thereby make money. Reaching Sopara (*Sūrpāraka*) in the Thana District, 37 miles north of Bombay and about 4 miles northwest of Bassim, the capital of Sūnāparānta or Aparānta and an important sea port and trade emporium, he put up with a local merchant, Bhadraśreṣṭhin, and made much money by selling horses. There the native traders had organized a club which invited, honoured and entertained all foreign merchants. Dhanadeva, with his host, Bha-

1. J. C. Jain, *History of Prakrta Literature* (in Hindi) (Benaras. 1961), pp. 416-7.

draśreṣṭhin, also attended a reception there and were offered perfume, betel and garland. On that occasion the traders, assembled there, joined a conversation as to the countries or regions they visited, goods they bought and sold and profits they made. This is how the talk proceeded :

"One said, 'I took horses and went to Kosala, the king of Kosala gave me good young ones of elephants in exchange for my *bhāila* horses, so with your good wishes, I made profit and came back.' Another said, 'I took areca nuts and went to the North, there I made profit and returned with horses.' Another said, 'I took pearls and went to the eastern country and brought from there fly-whisks (*camara*).' Another said, 'I went to Bāravaī and brought conches from there.' Another said, 'I took fabrics and went to Babbaraūla and returned from there with ivory and pearls.' Another said, 'I took the flowers of palāśa tree (butea frondosa) and went to Suvarṇadvīpa and returned from there with gold.' Another said, 'I took buffaloes and wild buffaloes and went to Cīna and Mahācīna and got from there gangāpaṭa and netrapaṭa and thereby made profit.' Another said, 'I took men and went to Strīrājya and returned with an equal weight of gold.' Another said, 'I took the leaves of Nimba tree and went to Ratnadvīpa, got there jewels and returned with them.' Hearing this all of them said, 'oh! What fine business! you get jewels for leaves of nimba tree (Azadirachta indica), no other business is worthwhile.' He said, "Good for him, who has no love for life." They said 'what business?' He said, 'You have yourself said what business. Since the sea is difficult to cross, Ratnadvīpa is far, winds are violent, waves are turbulent, watery motions are boisterous, fishes are ruinous, crocodiles are vast, sea-mosters are ferocious, sharks are large, whales are terrible demons are fierce, goblins are calamitous, mountains are not in sight, thieves are skilfull, ocean is aweful, way is difficult, in all respects, Ratnadvīpa is hard to reach, that is why I say that to him the business is good who has no love for life.' Then all said, 'Oh, really, Ratnadvīpa is hard to reach but without suffering there can be no pleasure. So saying the traders dispersed." (2)

2. *Kuvalayamalakaha* of Uddyotanasuri ed. A. N. Upadhye (Singhi Jaina Granthamala) No. 45, Bombay, 1959, pp. 66-67.
Tao payatto paropparam samullavo desiya — vaniyanam. Bhaniyam ca nehim. 'Bho bho vaniya, kattha dive dese va ko gao, kena va kim bhandam aniyam, kim va vidhattam, kim va paccaniyam' tti.

Here we have a precious document on international trade giving details of the articles of transport and commodities of exchange carried from one country to another for the sake of profit. Let us discuss the various items listed in it.

The main item of trade between north western and southern India was horse. From time immemorial people from the North-West have been bringing big trains of horses for trade in East and South India. Following their trail, and sometimes in their garb, invaders and adventurers have also been entering the country and plundering the people and even carving out kingdoms and creating empires. Quite often the people failed to distinguish between the horse-traders and the invaders as in the case of the followers of Muhammad bin Bakhtyar when they appeared at the royal palace

Tao ekkena bhaniyam. 'Aham gao kosalam turangame ghettuna; kosalaranna maha dinnaim mahantaim bhailaturangehim samam gayapoyayahim; tao tumha pabhavena samagao laddhalaho' tti. *Annena bhaniyam. 'Aham gao uttaravaham puyaphalaiyam* bhandam ghettuna, tattha laddhalaho turangame ghettuna agao' tti. Annena bhaniyam. 'Aham muttahale ghettuna puvvadesam gao, tao camare aniyo' tti. Annena bhaniyam 'Aham baravai gao tattha *sankhayam samaniyam' tti. Annena bhaniyam, 'Aham babbarau*lam gao, tattha celiyam ghettuna, gayadantaim mottiyaim ca ghettuna samagao' tti. Annena bhaniyam, 'Aham suvannadivam gao palasakusumaim ghettuna tattha suvannam ghettuna samagao' tti. Annena bhaniyam, 'Aham cinamahacinesum gao mahisagavale ghettuna tattha gangavadio nettapattaiyam ghettuna laddhalaho niyatto' tti. Annena bhaniyam, 'Aham gao mahilarajjam purise ghettuna tattha suvannasamatulam dauna agao' tti. Annena bhaniyam, 'Aham gao sayanadivam nimbapattaim ghettuna, tattha sayanaim laddhaim taim ghettuna samagao' tti. Evam ca nisamiuna savvehim ceya bhaniyam. 'Aho, sundaro samvavahao nimbapattehim sayanaim labbhanti kimannena vanijjena kirai' tti. Tena bhaniyam 'Sundaro jassa jiyam na vallaham' tti. Tehim bhaniyam 'kim kajjam'. Bhaniyam ca nena. Evam tubhehim bhaniyam 'kim kajjam' tti. 'Jena duttaro jalahi dure sayanadivam, cando maruo, cavala viio, cancala taranga, parihattha maccha, mahanta mayara, mahaggaha gaha, diha tantuno, gilano timingili, rodda rakkhasa, uddhavira veyala, dullakkha mahihara, kusala cora, bhimam mahasamuddam, dullaho maggo, savvaha duggamam sayanadivam' tti *tena bhanimo sundaram vanijjam jassa jiviyam va vallaham' tti.* Tao suvvehim vi bhaniyam 'Aho, duggamam sayanadivam, taha dukkena vina suham natthi' tti bhanamana samutthiya vaniya.

of Nadia and quietly occupied the kingdom of the Senas. (3) In fact horse-traders showed the way to cavalry leaders, their commerce became the prelude to military conquest and the horse, whether as an article of barter or an instrument of attack, determined the course of history in North India. In short the equestrian factor was a potent element in the life of the people in the past.

In the *Nadistuti* of the Rgveda (X, 75. 4) the Sindhu is called 'full of good horses.' (4) In Buddhist literature the land of the Kambojas is known as the home of horses (*assānam āyatnam*).(5) In the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* the Kambojas are said to have brought the presents of three hundred horses for Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his Rājasūya sacrifice. These horses are described as spotted, with snouts like the beaks of parrots and with specks like those of partridges.(6) Likewise the yavanas. Dvyakṣas (perhaps the people of Badakhshan), Tryakṣas, Laḷātākṣas, Auṣṇiṣas (perhaps the people wearing, conical caps like the Tigrakhaudā Śakā), Romakas, Ekapādas, Śakas, Tukhāras, Kankas-all living to the northwest of India and in Central Asia-are shown to have presented fleet-flooted and fast-moving horses to the Pāṇḍava hero.(7) In the *Droṇaparvan* (ch. 22) we have a list of fifty types of horses most of which were imported from Central Asia and Afghanistan and the Sind-Sagar Doab. In fact horse-trade had become such a prominent feature of life and culture of northwestern India that writers like Baudhāyana pointedly mentioned it as a disreputable trait of its people.(8)

3. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* (English translation by Major Ravezrty). p. 556.

4. *Rgveda*, x, 75. 4. Svasva sindhuh suratha suvasa hiranyayi sukrta vajinivati.

5. *Sumangalavilasini*, Vol. I, p. 124.

6. *Mahabharata*, II. 47, 4, Asvanstittirakalmasanstrisatam sukanasikan.

7. *Mahabharata*, II, 47. 8. 12-13. 15-18. 26.

8. Baudhayana Dharmasutra. I. 1, 2. 13; G. Buhler, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV, p. 148. The traits listed there are *Urnavikraya* (wool trade) *sidhupana* (rum drinking), *ubhayatodadbhirvyavahara* (trafficking in animals having teeth in the upper and lower jaws), *ayudhiyaka* (guilds of mercenary soldiers) and *samudrayana* (sea-voyages).

The nomadic peoples of Asia, particularly the Śakas, had attained great proficiency in horse-lore and riding. Hence they were mostly employed as horse-grooms as we learn from the representation of a Jātaka scene on an ivory plaque found at Begram near Kabul showing a groom wearing long Scythian tunic and conical bonnet in attendance on the royal horse (*maṅgalāśva*).(9) In a number of other drawings the horse-traders are Scythians.(10) Of special interest are the figurines of horsemen with flowing hair and moustaches wearing conical bonnets, long tunics and trousers found there which Ghirshman considers the representations of some Śaka deity kept for worship in the cornices of rooms.(11) Thus it appears that the Śakas came to be identified with the horse and even gave their name to it as the use of the word *tukhāra* in the sense of this animal shows.(12)

In the Gupta period northern horses were known as *vanāyuja*, *pārasīka*, *kāmboja* and *vālhīka* showing that they came from the Wana valley in Waziristan, Persia, Pāmir—Badakhshan region and Bactriana respectively. (13) At the time of Harṣa, in the early part of the seventh century, Bāṇa also mentioned the horses of Vanāyu (Wana valley), Āraṭṭa (Panjab), Kamboja, Sindhudeśa (Sind-Sagar-Doab) and Pārasīka. (Persia). (14) Towards, the end of the same century or the beginning of the next, Daṇḍin referred to the horses of Kamboja, Vāyu (Vanāyu), Gandhāra, Sindhudeśa, Yaudheya (Hariyana region). Yavana, Viṣaśva (Aśvaka country in the Swat valley), Kandara, Parvateya Kekaya country between the Jhelum and the Chenab) Uraśyaka Uraśā or Hazara) Kaśmīra etc. (15) In the latter half of the eighth century Uddyot-

9. A Foucher. 'Deux Jataka sur ivoire', *Nouvelles recherches archeologiques en Begram*, Vol. I, pp. 84-5.

10. J. Hackin & others. *Nouvelles recherches archeologi ques en Begram*, Vol. II, plates 153, 154, 156.

11. Rene Ghrishman, *Begram, recherches archeologiques et historiques sur las Konchams*, p. 75.

12. *Vikramankadevacarita* of Bilhana, XVIII. 93. Kalah kalanjaragiripateryah prayane dharitrim tukkharanam khuraputaravaih ksmapasunyam cakara.

13. *Amarakosa*, II. 8, 45. Vanayujah, parasikah kamboja valhika hayah.

14. V. S. Agrawala, *Harsacarita: A Cultural Study* (in Hindi), p. 41.

15. *Avantisundarikatha* of Dandin, ed. K. S. Mahadeva Shastri. (Trivandrum Samskrta Series No. 172), pp. 91-4.

tanasūri listed the horses called *māḷā* or *sāla*, *hāyana* or *bhāila khasa*, *kakkasa*, *ṭaṅka*, *taṇkana*, *sarira*, *sahajāna*, *hūna*, *saindhava*, *pāra*, *pārāvata* and *haṁsa*.[16] Of them *sāla* or *māla* may have some association with the Sālvas or Mālavas who were ancient peoples of the Punjab. The term *bhāila* is also mentioned in the *Deśināmamālā* of Hemacandra. [17] It seems to have an obvious connection with the people called Bhālar, Bhaḷesah, Bhaḷlowana, Bahl, Behl etc., all originating from the Vālhīkas, found in the Panjab. [18] Khasa signifies the hilly region from Kastawar in the south of the Vitasta valley in the west now peopled by the Khakha tribe. [19] In ancient time it stood for a widespread people living in the Himalayan regions upto Khotan and Kashar ghar. The term *kakkasa* is not clear but it appears to represent some region of Kaskar or the Tirich valley included in Chitral. Taṉka may refer to Takka, the region to the south of the Pir Pantsal Range. [20] Taṅgaṇa is the name of the people of the Kashghar area now called Tungan. In the *Mahābhārata* (III, 48, 21) they are bracketed with the Jāguḍa, Ramatha Strīrājya and Muṇḍa who lived in the North-West. Sahajāṇa is manifestly a variant of Sasan which lent its name to the Sassanian dynasty of Persia remembered in India as Sajjāṇavaṁśa.[21] It had become a synonym of Pārasīka or Persian. Hūṇa, as the name of a breed of horses, evidently shows its association with the Hūṇa (Khionite-Hepththalite) people who played an important part in Indian history in the earlier centuries. Just as the Tukharas gave their name to the horse, similarly the Hūṇas also seem to have done. It appears that, besides using the horse in warfare, like other northwestern peoples, they also extensively traded in it,

16. *Kuvalayamalakaha*, p. 23. Turayanam tava atthrasa jaio. Tam jaha. *Mala hayana kalaya*, khasa. kakkasa, tanka. tankana, sarira, sahajana, huna, sendhava. cittacala, cancala, para, paravaya hamsa, hamsagamana, vatthavvaya tti.
17. *Desinamamala*, VI 104, Bhayalabhasiyabhailla jacca turangadinnahaliesu.
18. Buddha Prakash, *Political & Social Movements in Ancient Panjab*, p. 138.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
20. M. A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*. Vol. I, p. 207.
21. Buddha Prakash, 'A Reference to the Sassanids in Indian Literature', *Studies in Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 378–89.

particularly after their liquidation as a military and political power in the seventhcentury just before and at the time of Harṣa, for which reason their name became a synonym of horse. Uddyotanasūri's is the earliest use of this word hūṇa in the sense of horse. *Saindhava* is, of course, the breed of the Sind-Sagar-Doab and even perhaps modern Sind, while *pāra* stands for the type of the trans-Indus region, the mares of which were given the name of *Pārevaḍavā* by Pāṇini (VI, 2, 42). ([22]) Pārāvata signifies the Parautai of Ptolemy living in Gedrosia or Aria. ([23]) Hamsa denotes the region of Hunza and Nagar in the extreme northwest of Kashmir extending into the mountain range which adjoins the junction of the Hindu-kush and Muztagh ranges. ([24]) In this way Uddyotanasūri's list of horses includes mostly the breeds of the Panjab, North-Western Province, Baluchi and Afghan areas and Iranian and Central Asian, territories. It is significant that he does not give any Arab name of horses like *vollāha* which his contemporary Haribhadra-sūri mentions. ([25]) It appears that by that time the trade in horse was confined to the North-West and the Punjab and the Arabs had not taken it in their hands. Subsequently they almost monopolised it with the result that twelth century authors, like Hemacandra, gave only the Arab names of horses. like *vollāha*, *kokāha serāha* etc. treating them as Indian words. ([26])

Uddyotanasūri makes it clear that traders from the North-West brought horses to Kosala region and exchanged them for elephants. It is noteworthy that Kantilya considers the elephants of Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Kāruṣa and eastern India as the best.([27]) On the other hand merchants from the South visited North India (*Uttarāpatha*) with a merchandise of areca nuts and bartered them for horses. This nut is cultivated extensively and exclusively within the moist tropical tracts that fringe the coast of India

22. V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini*, p. 43.
23. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 3.
24. Motichandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahabharata*, p. 93.
25. H. Jacobi· *Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadrasuri*, Introduction. p. 8.
26. Hemacandra. *Abhidhanacintamani (tiryakkhanda)*, verses 1235-1243.
27. *Arthasastra*, ed. R. Shamshastri. p. 49.

within a belt of land that does not extend inland for more than 200 miles. In southern and western India and where the soil and climate are exceptionally favourable it is grown in public gardens. It is used as an astringent and a masticatory. Arab physicians treated it as a mild purgative and an agent to clean the mouth and strengthen the gums and teeth. It was an usual accompaniment of the betel leaf and was *also used for religious and auspicious* purposes. ([28]) Hence naturally it was much in demand in North India and South Indian merchants found it profitable to trade in it. *The port town of Sopara* was a centre of its export and seems to have lent its name to the Hindi word for it *sopari.*

Our test shows that pearls from South India were exchanged for flywhisks of the eastern regions. The chief centre of pearl-fishing was the Gulf of Mannar so that Ceylon had acquired a virtual monopoly of it. In the *Arthasāstra* (pp. 75–76) pearls are said to have come from Ceylon and the Pāṇḍya kingdom besides other places. Varāhamihira also counts Ceylon among the eight regions known for pearl fisheries. ([29]) Watt ([30]) says that at present the largest pearl fisheries in the East are those of Ceylon giving a yield of Rs. 25,10,621 in 1905. From fairly early times these pearls have been exported to foreign countries. For example Pliny states that the pearls of India were in demand among the women of the Mediterranean world and were obtained in exchange for coral which was one of its important products. ([31]) It appears that on account of their demand in the *West Sopara became one of the* centres of their trade. From there they were exported not only to the West but also to the East. Traders taking them to the eastern regions *brought flywhisks in* exchange. It is interesting that among the presents offered by King Bhāskaravarman of Assam to Harṣavardhana white and black flywhisks as well as Camarī cows or deer,

28. George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India* (Reprint Edition, 1966), pp. 83-91.
29. *Brhatsamhita*, 81, 2.
30. George Watt, *Op. cit.*, p. 557.
31. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXII 11. 'Quantum apud nos Indicis margaritis pretium est tantum apud Indos curalio — Auctoritas baccarum ejus non minus Indorum viris quoque pretiso est, quam feminis nostris uniones Indici.'

from the tails of which this thing was made, figured prominently.([32]) Evidently flywhisks from Assam where in demand in other parts of the country and, therefore, trade in them was quite profitable.

In the Traders' Club at Sopara one merchant said that he went to Bāravaī and brought conches from there. This Bāravaī is identified with Dvāravatī, modern Dvārakāpuri in Gujarat. ([33]) But it is noteworthy that quality conches or the sacred chank (*turbinella rapa*) is found in the Gulf of Mannar, opposite Jaffnapatam in Ceylon, and off the coast of Travancore, Tuticorin etc.([34]) In the *Mahābhārata* (II, 48, 30), the people of Ceylon are said to have brought conches along with jewels, cats'eye, pearls and elephant covers as presents for Yudhiṣṭhira. Chank-cutters had a flourishing business at Korkai and Kaveripattinam and upto the 6th century Indian and Ceylonese conch-shells were exported to Italy.([35]) Hence, South India and Ceylon being the main centres of the production and trade of conch-shells, it may be worthwhile to locate Bāravai somewhere there. In this connection it may be suggested that this place is the same as the kingdom of Baruvara mentioned in some inscriptions from the Mysore region.([36]) H. B. Sarkar has opined that the king of this region is identical with *Haji Vuravari* who defeated King Dharmmavaṃśa of East Java and was in turn worsted and killed by King Airlangga. He holds that this king of this South Indian State of Baruvara launched an invasion across the sea against Java and captured the kingdom of Dharmmavamśa and thus in a way collaborated with Rājarāja I in his overseas expedition of 1007 A.D.([37]) Without

32. V. S. Agrawala, *Harsacarita: A Cultural Study*, p. 170, *Presidential Address, XXII All India Oriental Conference*, Gauhati. p. 6.

33. A. N. Upadhye, *The Kuvalayamala*, Introduction, Notes etc. (Bombay-1969), p. 118.

34. George Watt, *Op. cit.*, p. 989.

35. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire & India* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 174.

36. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV. 17; VII, 118.

37. H. B. Sarkar, 'South India in Old Javanese and Sanskrit Inscriptions', *Bijdragen tot de —, Land -en Volkenkunde*, Deel 125 (1969). pp. 202-204.

going into the merits of this suggestion, we may confine ourselves to stating that Bāruvara or Vāruvari was a kingdom in South India and that it may be identified with Bāravaī of the Kuvalayamālā noted for the industry and export of conchshells.

One of the traders in the club of Sopara said that he took fabrics and went to Barabarakūla and brought in return ivory and pearls from there. Barbarakūla means the coastal regions of western Asia and eastern Africa. Al-Maṣūdī refers to a rhyme of seamen sailing in the East African waters in which they complain of the mad waves of Barbara and Jafūna (*barbara wa jafūna mojak almajnūna*) ([38]) Here these terms are used for the African coast. The word Barbaria denoted North Somaliland. ([39])

In Western Asia the expansion of the Arabs, following the rise of Islam, ushered in an economic and cultural revolution. Under the Umayyad Caliphs (660-749 A.D.) the world from Spain to Sind was united in one sway. Almost at the same time China was brought under one rule by the T'angs (618-907) This was also the period of the consolidation of the Śrīvijaya empire in Southeast Asia. The founding of these unified political organizations was both the cause and result of economic, commercial and maritime development of the countries washed by the Indian Ocean. Hence we find brisk navigational activity at this time.

The transfer of the capital of Dar-al-Islam from Damascus to Baghdad under the Abbasids gave a great stimulus to Persian Gulf trade and led to the growth of the port-town of Siraf on the Iranian side and of Maspat on the Arabian side of the Gulf and Al-Ubullah and Al-Basra at the head of it. From Indian ports to the Persian Gulf there were two routes; one lay from Malabar straight through the Indian Ocean to Masqat and Suhar on the coast of Uman and thence to Siraf and Al-Ubullah, and another followed the sea coast to Al-Mansurah and Al-Daybul in Sind, Tiz

38. George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton, 1951), p. 81.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

in Makran and Hurmuz in the Gulf and thence reached the Qays Island inside it and headed towards the other ports. The distance from Masqat to Malabar was one lunar month of twentynine or thirty days, but sometimes it could be covered in about eleven days as the *Kitāb Ajāib al Hind* of Buzurg ibn Shahryar of Ramhurmuz shows.([40]) In the Gulf near the mouth of the Tigris three wooden scaffolds were erected in the sea to keep the ships off the shallows of Abbadan and watch-towers were set up on them to serve as lighthouses and signal-stations. These facilities gave a great stimulus to shipping and maritime activity.

From the Persian Gulf ports the ships sailed along the Arabian coast and launched into the African sea (*bahr al-habashah*) and reached the coast of Al-Habashah or Al-Zanj. In it the island of Socotra (Usqutrah), bearing the Indian name of *Sukhatura*, was an important refuelling station as well as a pirate centre. ([41])

The Indians of the western coast introduced many improvements in ship-building and, as J. Poujade has shown, invented the fore-and-aft sail, which was transformed by the Arabs into the triangular sail of the dhows, incorrectly called the 'Latin' or lateen sail.([42])

All these developments enhanced the frequency of navigation and commerce between the West and the East bringing to the fore merchants like the Jews, described by Ibn Khurdadbih, who spoke Persian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Frankish, Spanish and Slav languages and traded between the western Mediterranean and India([43]) In this atmosphere Indian trade with western Asia, Africa and even the Mediterranean world had a singular development. As a result large numbers of Indian merchants sailed to West Asian and African ports and settled there. For instance Abu Zaid Hasan relates that Indian merchants frequently visited Siraf and cultivated

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 118.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
42. J. Poujade, *La route des Indes et ses navires* (Paris, 1958).
43. Van der Lith and M. Devic. *Le livre des merveilles de l'Inde par le capitaine Bozorog* (Paris, 1878), p. XXI.

good relations with Muslim merchants. Since the Indian merchants dined separately from the Muslims whenever the Muslim merchants of Siraf invited them, they served them separate dishes. Such get-togethers attracted guests in hundreds.([44]) Not only in the Persian Gulf area but also in Africa the Indians set up their establishments. Van Oordt has shown that people from South India had settled in the region of Mozambique while a tradition relates to the existence there of a darkskinned alien race from the Malabar coast.([45]) The Swahili of East Africa have retained a memory of foreigners, called Wadebuli, perhaps the people living at and deriving their name from Dhabol on the West Coast of India, who are said to have come by sea in vessels 'made of palm leaves'.([46])

The *Kuvalayamālākahā* shows that Indian traders took to Barbarakūla textile fabrics for which India was known and in return brought from there pearls and ivory. Persian Gulf pearls are from very early times regarded as the best. Kauṭilya ([47]) has mentioned the pearls of *Pāśa* which is the same as *Pāraśavāsa* or the Persian Gulf referred to by Varāhamihira ([48]) as the home of a variety of pearls. Similarly the *Agastimata* ([49]) includes Barbara and Pāraśika among the sources of pearls. Even nowadays Persian Gulf pearls, called *Basra Moti*, are regarded as of the highest quality and frequently the Ceylonese or South Indian pearls are also sold under their name. It appears that in ancient time also this practice was current. As for ivory it was a typical product of Africa and was traded at Adulis though Indian ivory was also exported to the West Al-Maśūdī says that ivory was brought from Zanj (Zanjibar) to Oman and from there was shipped to India and China.([50]) It

44. G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand Sulayaman en Inde et en Chine* (Paris, 1922), p. 138.
45. J. F. Van Oordt, *Who were the Builders of the Great Zimbabwe?* (Cape Town, 1909). It is noteworthy that at Zimbabwe in Rhodesia beads of apparently Indian and Malay origin have been found in the earliest deposits (G. P. Murdock, *Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History* (New York, 1959), p. 210).
46. Auguste Toussaint, *History of the Indian Ocean* (Eng. tr. by June Guicharnaud) (London, 1966), p. 71.
47. *Arthasastra*, pp. 75-6.
48. *Brhatsamhita*, 81, 2.
49. Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens*, pp. 95-6.
50. Al-Masudi, *Prairies d' Or*, III, 7-8.

appears that in the eighth century the exchange of Indian cloth for Persian Gulf pearls and African ivory was an important feature of West Asian trade.

As regards Southeast Asian trade our text says that merchants went to Suvarṇadvīpa with the flowers of *palāśa* (butea frondosa) brought from there gold. From the fourth century oceanic trade between India and Southeast Asia increased due to the exodus of people from North to South China following the capture of Lo-young by the Hsiung-nu and the growing demand of western goods among them which could not be supplied by the land routes on account of disturbed conditions. In the seventh century the consolidation of the Tang empire gave a further fillip to this trade and the growing interest of the Perslans also proved a stimulant for it. Persian shipping dominated the waters of the eastern part of the Indian ocean as is clear from the fact that in 671 at Canton I-Tsing embarked on a Persian (*Po-ssū*) ship for Palembang and in 717 an Indian sailed from Ceylon to Palembang in a convoy of 35 Persian (*Po-ssū*) ships. In 748 we hear of a big village of Persians (*Po-ssū*) in the island of Hainan and in 750 we find them and the Arabs (*Ta-shih*) sacking and burning the city of Canton itself and escaping by the sea.([51]) The prominence of the Persians and the Arabs in the commercial world of Southeast Asia is manifest from the remark of the Arab writer Ibn al-Fakih that the parrots of Zabag (Java) spoke the Persian, Arabic and Greek languages.([52]) The briskness and profitability of this commerce gave a stimulus to Malay shipping and eventually helped the rise of Śrīvijaya. As Wolters says, "the origins of Śrīvijaya must be explained chiefly in the circumstance that southeastern Sumatra and its off-shore islands were the cradle of the coastal Malays as they appear in history."([53]) He adds that "the decisively important event in the centuries before

51. Hadi Hasan. *A History of Persian Navigation* (London, 1928), pp. 101-102; 99.

52. G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes geographiques arabes, per-sans et turk relatifs a l' Extreme — Orient du huitieme au dix-septieme siecles* (Paris, 1913-14), Vol. I, pp. 56-7.

53. O. W. Wolters. *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya* (Cornell, 1967), p. 242.

the rise of Śrīvijaya was the way in which the Malays captured the China trade when it expanded after the barbarians overran northern China and drove the Chinese markets south."(54) These Indonesian ships were called K'*un-lun po* and their crew *k'un-lun*.(55) I—Tsing refers to k'un-lun ships visiting Tongking and Canton and says that he and another pilgrim sailed to India in the ships of Śrīvijaya. Haribhadrasūri writes that from Śrīvijaya (Śrīpura) ships sailed for Ceylon everyday.(56) To this situation the Indians and Ceylonese quickly reacted by increasing their shipping and maritime activity which was already prominent in the eastern waters. The use of the ports of South India by Muslim merchants as an advance base for the China trade gave a great impetus to the activity of Tamil traders. Hence we find people from South India intensifying their trade relations with Southeast Asia and also with China and for that purpose settling in appreciable numbers in the Indonesian islands. Old-Javanese inscriptions refer to the people from Kling (Kalinga), Ārya (?), Gola (Gauḍa), Singhala (Ceylon), Karṇāṭaka. Colika (Coḷa), Malayala (Malabar), Pandikira (Pāṇḍya), Draviḍa. Campā, Remen etc. living at the port of Hujung Galuh and moving into eastern Java through the ports on the river Brantas.(57) During the reign of Airlangga restrictions were imposed on the movements of these people as well as their commercial activity, for example, goods from foreign lands, beyond a certain limit, were forbidden for the religious foundation of Vimalāṣrama in East Java.(58) The fact that I-Tsing stopped at Śrīvijaya to master the Sanskrit language and learn Buddhist texts shows that Indians must have been living there. Eighth century literature mentions the frequency of sea-voyages of Indian merchants towards southeast Asia. Besides Uddyotanasūri himself, who gives a detailed description of the preparation for a sea voyage such as the arrangement of ships, loading of merchandise, assembling of sailors, calculation of the journey and fixation of the time of departure, raising of the mast,

54. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

55. Paul Pelliot, 'Quelques textes chinois concernant l'Indo-chine hindouisee'. *Etudes Asiatiques* II (Paris, 1925). pp. 257-60.

56. *Samaraiccakaha*, ed. Bhagavandasa (Ahmedabad, 1938), p. 400. Jao paenamio paidinameva vahanaim sihaladivam gacchanti.

57. Brandes-Krom, *Oud-Javaanshe Oorkonden*. Nos. 58, 59. 61, 64.

58. *Ibid.*, No. 112.

putting up the sails, fitting the seats and berths, collecting loads of timber for plank and fuel and filling containers of fresh sweet water, (59) his contemporary, Haribhadrasūri, gives elaborate descriptions of Indian shipping activity in the eastern waters.(60) The Indian word for sea voyage, *siddhayātrā*, became a technical phrase in medieval literature and is also employed in the Kedukan Bukit inscription of a king of Śrīvijaya, in the inscription of Mahānāvika Buddhagupta, found in Province Wellesley on the Malayan peninsula, and in the Nhan Bien inscription of Campā.(61) E. Huber and G. Coedeś take it to mean a journey in search of magical power and R. C. Majumdar and B. Ch. Chhabra understand by it a successful undertaking, but it may simply mean a seavoyage.(62)

The brisk shipping and maritime activity in the eastern waters in the seventh and eigth centuries led to a significant growth in navigational technique which reduced the voyage from India to Southeast Asia from about 90 days in the fifth century to only 25 days in the seventh.(63) The ninth century work *Akhbr-al Sin-wal-Hind,* ascribed to the merchant Sulayman, gives the duration of the voyage from Kulam on the Malabar coast to Kalah Bar on the Malayan Peninsula as one lunar month of 29-30 days. (64) Later Chau Ju-kua stated that it took a little more than a month to reach San-fo-tśi (Palembang) from Nan-pī (Malabar). (65) All these data

59. *Kuvalayamalakaha,* p. 67.

60. Buddha Prakash, *India and the World,* pp. 128-9.

61. G. Coedes, *Les etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie,* pp. 143-4; R. C. Majumdar, *Champa* inscription No. 43; B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule,* pp. 24-5; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Siddhayatra', *Journal of the Greater India Society,* Vol. IV (1937), pp. 128-36.

62. V. S. Agrawala, 'A Cultural Note on the Kuvalayamala of Uddyotanasuri' in A. N. Upadhye, *The Kuvalayamala,* Introduction, Notes etc., p. 119. In this connection it may be interesting to point out that a Yaksa, worshipped at Srughna in North India, was called *Siddhayatra* according to *Mahamayuri* (verse 23) (Sylvain Levi, 'Le cataloque geographique des yaksas dans le Mahamayuri', *Journal Asiatique* (1915) I, p. 19. The name of this Yaksa is evidently connected with Siddhayatra. He may have been a deity associated with sea-voyages.

63. Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese,* p. 42.

64. G. F. Hourani, *Op. cit.,* p. 74.

65. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chou Ju-kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911), p. 87.

indicate the development of the oceanic commerce between India and Southeast Asia.

In the club of traders at Sopara the trader to southeast Asia (*Suvarṇadvīpa*) states that he took there the flowers of the palāśa tree (butea frondosa). These flowers have medicinal properties according to Ayurvedic texts. The *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu* states that the wood of this tree increases virility, acts as a stimulant as well as a laxative, is a healing agent and is useful for orthopaedic purposes, is the medicine for rectum diseases and for gout, piles and dysentery and serves as a disinfectant and antiseptic. According to it the flowers of Palāśa cause flatulence, are the medicine for the disturbances of phlegm and bile, the infection of blood and the blockage of urine, act as an astringent and a cooling agent and remove thirst and burning and are the cure of rheumatism and leprosy.[66] Their special quality of being the medicine for irritation, itching and leprosy (*kaṇḍuṣkuṣṭanāśitva*) is noted in ancient texts.[67] These flowers also yield a brilliant yellow dye by simple decoction which can be made lasting by the addition of an alkali.[68] Their seeds act as an anthelmintic and, mixed with lemon juice, a powerful rubefacient for curing herpes. They are known for their aperient action. It is noteworthy that Tun-sun on the Malayan Peninsula was a market for fragrant flowers from quite early times.[69] With the passage of time, flowers, resins, perfumes, spices, herbs etc. began to be transported from the West to Souteast Asia and transmitted further to China. It is, therefore, no wonder that palāśa flowers were also in demand in those regions and were shipped from India in exchange for the proverbial gold of

66. *Bhavaprakasanighantu*, ed. Gangasahaya Pandeya (Benaras, 1960), p.;432.

Palasah kinsukah parno yajniyo raktapuspakah/
Ksarasrestho vatapotho brahmavrksah samidvarah//
Palaso dipano vrsyah sarosno vranagulmajit/
Bhagnasandhanakrddosagrahanyarsakrimin haret//
Kasayah katukastiktah snigdho gudajarogajit/
Tatpuspam svadu pake tu katu tiktam kasayakam//
Vatalam kafapittasrakrcchrajit grahi sitalam/
Trddanasamakam vataraktakustaharam param//

67. *Sabdakalpadruma*, III, 80.
68. G. Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 189.
69. O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 39.

Suvarṇadvīpa. Of course, these flowers only did not constitute the cargo of ships sailing on these perilous voyages. There must have been many more substantial articles, but the narrator mentioned the palāśa flowers only to emphasize how very ordinary things costing almost nothing in India could fetch gold in southeast Asia. His idea was to stress the profitability of this trade.

Southeast Asia was merely the stepping stone to China. Hence some Indian merchants had their eye on China while sailing towards the East. A chinese account of 749 mentions Indian ships on the Canton river and three temples of the Brāhmaṇas in that city. ([70]) Chinese interest in Indian goods was growing right from the fourth century and became intense in the seventh when the Emperor T'ai Tsung (627—649) was cured of diarrhoea by a preparation of milk and long pepper following which this article began to be used for cold conditions of the stomach ([71]) and accordingly imported in large quantities from India. The Chinese name for this article *pi-po* is based on the Sanskrit word *pippali* while the word *hu-tsiao* indicates that it was counted among the spices of India. ([72]) Along with these spices other articles must have been taken to China from India. Among them our text counts the buffaloes and wild buffaloes. In this respect we may note that in the early part of the 8th century the Korean pilgrim Hui-ch'ao mentioned the buffaloes among the chief features of South India. ([73]) These animals must have been prized in China as rarities as zebras and giraffes were done when Cheng Ho took them from Africa after his seventh voyage in 1431—33. ([74]) But the Indian trader pointedly mentioned them to create a sensation among his listeners.

70. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India* (Madras, 1939), p. 19.

71. O. W. Wolters. *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

72. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 374.

73. Jan Yun-hua, 'South India in the Eighth Century: Hui-ch'ao's Description Reexamined', *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. 15 (December 1968), p. 170.

74. William Willetts, 'The Maritime Adventures of Grand Eunuch Ho' in Colin Jack-Hinton, *Papers on Early Southeast Asian History* (Singapore, 1964.) pp. 25-6.

In return for buffaloes the Indian merchants brought cloth from China called *gaṅgāpaṭa* and *netrapaṭa*. *Gaṅgāpaṭa* could not be product of the Gaṇgā valley in India for, in that case, to bring it from China would sound absurd. Evidently it was some Chinese fabric the name of which was Sanskritised as *Gaṅgāpaṭa*. In this connection it may be suggested that the word *gangā* represents some pronunciation of Hàng-tcheou, the great trade centre of South China, which Marco Polo calls *Khinsa* or *Khing-sai*, based on *king-tsai*, and Odoric of Pordenone spells as *Kànsay* or *Guinzài*.(75) Subsequently this fabric became known in India *gaṅgājala*. It was perhaps pure white silk. As for *netra*, it was the name of white figured silk mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa.(76) Thus *gaṅgāpaṭa* and *netrapaṭa* seem to have stood for plain and figured white silks respectively. Both these varieties were very much in demand in India.

In connection with the Indo-chinese trade there is a reference to Cīna and Mahācīna. These two terms are reminiscent of the Perso-Arab usage *Chīn* and *Māchīn* which seems to have been based on the popular belief of Gog and Magog. As Pàul Pelliot observes, "the reduction from Mahācīna to Cīna may have been favoured by the influence of Magog and that the vague but popular Gog and Magog is to some extent responsible for the frequent recurrence and the loose treatment of the parallel group *Chīn* and *Māchin*" (77) Therefore it is not necessary to think that Cīna and Mahācīna referred to two distinct countries or that one represented Indo-china and the second the Chinese mainland. They, in fact, stood for one and the same country of China. Uddyotanasūri's contemporary Haribhadrasūri calls this country simply *Cīṇadiva* (*Cīnadvīpa*) in an account of the journey of a merchant Dharaṇa from India via Suvarṇadvīpa.(78)

75. Rene Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* pp. 381-6.

76. V. S. Agrawala, *Harsacarita: A Cultural Study* (in Hindi), pp. 78-9; Motichandra, *Ancient Indian Costume* (in Hindi), p. 157.

77. Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 273.

78. Buddha Prakash, *India and the World*, pp. 128-9. For a critical study of Haribhadra's works see Nemichandra Shastri, *Haribhadra ke Prakrta Katha Sahitya Ka Alocanatmaka Parisilana* (in Hindi) (Vaisali, 1965), though some facts in it are wrongly given, and Pandit Sukhalal, *Samadarsi Acharya Haribhadra* (in Hindi) (Jodhpur, 1963).

A trader attending the meeting of the Club at Sopara reported, perhaps humorously, though not without a grain of truth, that he took men to the land of women and brought gold in return from there. The Land of Women (*Strīrājya*) is mentioned among the northern regions in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 51, 1991), the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 22) of Varāhamihira and the *Rājataraṅgiṃī* (IV, 173-75) of Kalhaṇa. The Chinese knew of a Land of Women near their frontiers. The Sui historians, writing in 586, referred to the state of Nu Wang in eastern Tibet as ruled over by a woman with the title Sou-pi. It is said that even the attendants of the royal palace there were women and men were completely cut off from state affairs. This state was often at war with Tangsiang and also with India. In the Tang period the name of this state was changed to Tang (eastern) Nu. Its queen T'ang-ang sent an envoy to China with tributes in 618—26 A.D. In the 8th century, in 742, however, a man was elected as the ruler of that state instead of a woman in violation of the old convention.([79]) Similar states may have existed in other parts of Tibet and the Himalayan regions where the preponderance of freedom of women created the impression that they were Lands of Women *par excellence* The districts of Garhwal and Kumaun, later known as Suvarṇagotra, acquired this name, and Kulūta, Bhutan and Kāmarūpa also probably went by it.([80]) There were many routes in ancient times connecting North India with these regions. In a study I have enumerated sixteen routes linking these countries.([81]) Along them traders frequently moved with their merchandise. It is likely that they did some trafficking in men. It is also probable that some of them settled there bringing about changes in their customs and manners that resulted in the prominence of men in some spheres of their socio-political set-up an instance of which is given in the chinese account of the Kingdom of T'ang Nu in the 8th century. The report of the aforesaid trader at Sopara may indicate and underly some such thing.

79. S. W. Bushell, 'The Early History of Tibet, from Chinese Sources', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New series), Vol. XII (1880), pp. 435–541.

80. N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 194.

81. Buddha Prakash, 'Uttarakuru', *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1965), p. 31.

The last speaker at the Traders' Club at Sopara took all by surprise by stating that he took leaves of the Nimba (Neem) tree to Ratnadvīpa and brought from there jewels in return for them. Ratnadvīpa is obviously ceylon, the word *ratna* meaning 'jewel' being synonymous with the Indonesian word *sela*, some old form of which lay at the basis of the names Sāilon, Simhala, Ceylon.(82) It was regarded the home of jewels from very early times. Lying midway on the oceanic route between the West and the East it acquired a singular importance and also considerable affluence reflected in the legendary accounts of its wealth of jewels. The interesting thing is that, according to our text, these precious articles were brought from Ceylon in exchange for such an ordinary thing as the leaves of the Neem tree. This tree is a typical product of India. In the forests of Karṇāṭaka and parts of the Deccan it grows wild, elsewhere in India it is cultivated.(83) Its leaves have medicinal properties. According to the *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu* they are good for ophthalmic treatments, act as antiseptic and antidote to bile and poison, induce flatulence and remove all sorts of nausea and leprosy. (84) In particular they are used to cure inflammation skin diseases, scabies, eczema, pemphigus and abscesses. They are also used to preserve books, papers, cloth etc. from ravages of insects and are particularly useful in keeping away mosquitoes. It is, therefore, no wonder that, on account of these qualities and properties, Neem leaves were in demand in Ceylon from where they were also, perhaps, exported to other countries and, thus, trade in them was very profitable for the Indians. But, again, this was not the only commodity exported from India; other articles were, of course, carried from here; this thing was particularly mentioned to emphasize how profitable trade with Ceylon was.

The above study shows that in the record of the talks of the merchants assembled at the Traders' Club at Sopara we have a precious document on international trade encompassing the vast region from Africa and West Asia to Indonesia and China and from

82. Buddha Prakash, *India and the World*, p. 124.

83. G. Watt, *Commercial Products of India*. p. 780.

84. *Bhavaprakasanighantu*, *Op. cit.*, p. 275.
Nimbapatram smrtam netryam krimipittavisapramut/
Vatalam katupakanca sarvarocakakustanut//

Ceylon to Tibet in the eighth century. The list of goods exchanged by these merchants in various countries is illustrative rather than exhaustive. In it only those items are mentioned which tend to create sensation among the listeners, yet the informations given are not devoid of truth. Besides them, the very idea of merchants, visiting such different countries and dealing in such a variety of commodities, gathering and conversing at a club and exchanging their commercial knowledge and arousing the interest of each other in their respective fields of business is symbolic of the growing unity of the economic world outpacing political divisions and even cultural differences in the eighth century.

"THE CREATURES OF PROMETHEUS" A DANCE DRAMA IN ITALY

by

MRINALINI SARABHAI

The great Western classical music composer Ludwig Van Beethoven, was born two hundred years ago. His life, is a shining light in the history of man. An unhappy childhood made himself reliant, a drunken lechorous father determined him to lead a strictly moral life and from the age of eighteen he was the guardian of his family. As he was breaking into the music world with his genius, the disastrous calamity of deafness shattered him.

Yet from this deaf man, whose undauntable spirit soared to divine heights, was born the music, that still, two centuries later, has not been surpassed, by any Western composer.

In Italy the theatres were paying homage to him, with a new ballet composed to his music, a piece entitled 'The Creatures of Prometheus.' A brilliant drama director, Bepe Menegatti had only recently wandered into the dance world, to create ballets for his wife Carla Fracci, Italy's leading ballerina, who is the star of the celebrated Scala Opera of Milan. His idea it was to create something totally new for the celebration of this genius Beethouen.

Prometheus was a Greek God, who first brought to mortals the secret of fire. It was he who taught to mankind the art of forging tools and weapons, making them independent of the Gods. Zeus, was enraged at this defiance and demanded repentance from Prometheus. It was refused, and the young leader of Mankind, was chained to the rocks of the Caucasus mountains for a thousand years.

The writer Berdyaev explains Prometheus saying.

'The Promethean principle is a rebellion against the natural gods, against determinism of human destiny, an aspiration to a higher freer world'

'The creatures of Prometheus' were the spirits of freedom; Menegatti wanted me to dance in the ballet, for he had heard of my new compositions, and from Italy, he sent me a cable, asking that I find the time for this new experiment. So, I said 'yes' and accepting a blind date went to Milan. There was a challenge in this idea and I am all for artistic challenges.

Bepe Menegatti was very excited about combining the East and the West in classical dance form with a new vision. Rehearsals were at Italy's celebrated Theatre 'La Scala' and everyday, I trudged up five stories (there is an unreliable elevator) and rehearsed for five hours and sometimes more. Bepe, on the very first day, explained his thoughts to me. Though the ideas and structure were not yet clear, they fitted in with all the new forms I had been experimenting with in Indian dance; the abstract Rig-Veda, the dance on 'Suicide' the pieces on 'percussion,' so I was almost instinctively prepared for his unspoken thoughts, so similar to mine. He too was obsessed with the anxieties of our time, he too believed in pure classicism, yet in the expression of our own epoch, he was also one with a deep sense of commitment that goes far beyond performances, techniques or language. He was preoccupied with the artists need for truth, as I am, and the telling of it through the theatre. Yet all these things are age-old and Beethoven is as real today as is Bharata Natyam. As enduring, as sustaining, as meaningful. Love, violence, revolution, peace, these have been woven into the fabric of man's existence from the beginning of human consciousness. The only difference being, that we re-express ourselves, in the context of our own times and each new attempt is a 'happening' against the backdrop that is eternity.

The theme as Bepe explained it to me, and as it unfolded. was the dancer's preoccupation with violence. A painted white stage, a studio fitted with bars for ballet rehearsals, was the only stage set. When the scene opens the Western dancers are rehearsing, and are oblivious of the world outside the studio. An actor reads some words from Aeschylus, but it leaves them unaffected. The director puts on a beautiful film of 'La Sylphide' from New York in which Carla Fracci and Erik Bruhne are dancing, and Carla and her partner, this time James Urbin rehearse to the film. Everything is beautiful. But somewhere a mistake has been made in the editing of the film, and terrible scenes appear, a young child of Viet Nam,

Dachau, concentration comps, the Jews being massacred, scenes from the outer world. The dancers are forced against their will to see the atrocities of man against man, and watch the pictures in horror. The film is stopped abruptly but the mood of utter revulsion continues. Like the Sutradara, the actor strolls through reading aloud from Beethoven words of insight and wisdom. This time the dancers listen carefully. They too become human. They pull down a huge board and wildly write 'Peace' 'Peace' upon it. Some go into a frenzy of exercises. They donot know hope to help. They only know action is necessary. But what?. What can they do?. Just then, there is a sound of people entering and they turn as the visitors from India enter. They glance with curiosity at their clothes at their manner of greeting and respond but with reservation. Who are these people, dressed in strange costumes?

Slowly one of the dancers from India, dances in a serenity unknown to them. At the end of the dance, she looks around for someone with whom she can communicate and she begins to dance almost in conversation with the prima ballerina, a meaningful dialogue. Slowly everyone joins in, one by one and the actor too moved by the harmony reads out from the words of Gandhi. About peace, About nonviolence.

The dancers talk of their own cultures by showing each other their ancient styles, and try to understand what to do with Beethoven. Who are the creatures of Prometheus, that God, who gave liberty and dignity to man. One by one pictures appear, familiar pictures. There are many facets of nobility. There is Gandhi, there is Martin Luther King. There is Mrs. King, there is Ho Chi Minh and Khruschev. There is Pope John, and the discoveror of Penicillin. There are many creatures of Prometheus, trying to save mankind, to spell out freedom in their own way. But there are those who suffer. The terrible awe inspiring picture of the Vietnamese mother with her dead child in her arms. The Indian dancer cannot keep still. She dances the dance of woman, her youth, her aspirations, her child. But her child is snatched away to be destroyed by revolution or by war, by inhuman methods.

Let us destroy these people, the other dancers say to her. We will avenge you. But she shakes her head. Violence can never be met with violence. If not love, let us learn tolerance. There is only one way to peace in the world. That we learn to respect and

tolerate each other. Love may come later, but now it is imperative that all women accept humanity as their child. Violence can never solve anything except to beget hate. But the prima ballerina protests and with a drawing of the hand of Lenin behind her, she dances in protest for nothing can be solved except by protest. So both the creeds meet and decide that dancers too must join humanity and not exist only within the framework of their studios. There is no solution, no quick answer, no tongue in the cheek platitude, just the fact that no man can live in isolation any more. The problem of existence is his, and somewhere an answer must be found, if humanity is not to be wiped off the face of the earth. But each one feels the horror of the crimes perpetuated in the name of justice and can no longer blame it upon the inexorable decree of the Gods.

What is the message of the ballet then ? Together in the last scene the East and West meet, and dance. Together. Let us all be 'Creatures of Prometheus'. Let us all realise the problems that beset mankind. Above all let us not be silent. Let us protest but not in violence. Not in killing. Not in hatred. Not as animals. Let us become human beings made in the image of God. Let us learn to bring peace upon the earth so that man may live in freedom. Prometheus has been bound upon the rock too long. Let us free him forever.

'CONSCIOUSNESS' — IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SRI AUROBINDO

by

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The life and works of Sri Aurobindo reveal him as a great psychologist who not only had a deep insight into human nature, but endeavoured to transform and perfect it. His writings have an indescribable quality, a special psychological force and an irresistable charm which directly appeals to the reader deep at the heart. While any yoga is practical psychology, the integral yoga of Sri Aurobindo can be called 'Advanced Psychology' since it bears the facts of human personality and also throws light on problems that are beyond the scientific purview of psychology. Though he did not conduct any experiments in the modern sense of the term, he did experiment with the truth about human personality and existence. It is a blazing fact that what he wrote without claiming as a psychologist, is of eternal psychological value.

The net work of his whole system centres around consciousness —its different levels, the necessity of heightening it, widening it, transforming it and stabilising it. To Sri Aurobindo, consciousness is a reality inherent in existence and hence does not depend on the reaction of personality to the forces of Nature. Consciousness is not mere awareness of self and things, but it is itself chit sakti. It has many gradations far below and above the human range. The subjective personality is determined by the grade of consciousness in which it is organised, according to its evolutionary stage. Hence consciousness is the same throughout, but only differs in status, condition and operation. While ego is generally claimed to be the centre of conscious activity in Western Psychology, consciousness in Integral Yoga does not need the 'individual' as its centre, since the individual consciousness can go down to the physical and go up a far as the superconscient. Being the fundamental energy in manifestation, it covers all stages from matter to Spirit.

Yoga—an experiment in consciousness:

Yoga is primarily an exploration of consciousness. It is an art of self finding. It is not learning something new as such but mostly unlearning the animal in us gradually and replacing it by divine light permanently. As Sri Aurobindo puts it " In a certain sense we are nothing but a complex mass of mental, nervous and physical habits held together by a few ruling ideas, desires and associations —an amalgam of many small self repeating forces with a few major vibration "[1] Our surface consciousness is always scattered which we must collect in order to dive deep within since " there is nothing mind can do that cannot be better done in the minds' immobility and thought free stillness ".[2]

To those unaccustomed to this silence within, the sudden shifting of consciousness from outer to within, may be uneasy or even alarming. But silence is not mere emptiness, but the positive foundation of true consciousness. As Sri Aurobindo observes " There is no real yoga possible still less any integral yoga, if you do not go back from the outer self and become aware of all this inner being Inner nature "[3] But this is often confused with the mental preoccupation of introverts spoken of in modern Psychology. An introvert is a small mental man who has a narrowed consciousness because of his preoccupation with his own interests. In Yogic consciousness, there is not only enlargement but also transformation which is integral and global. This is done by rising in consciousness or ascent into higher levels and by bringing down the higher consciousness to the physical.

Gradations of consciousness:—

In the evolution from matter to spirit, Sri Aurobindo speaks of different gradations of consciousness. They are referred to as Inconscient, Subliminal, Subconscient, Superconscient and Circumconscient. They are however fundamentally different from the psychoanalytic terms such as preconscious, personal unconscious and collective unconscious.

1. Sri Aurobindo, *Synthesis of Yoga*, page 81.
2. Sri Aurobindo, *The Hour of God*, page 64.
3. *Letter*, Vol. 1, p. 168.

Subliminal :—

According to Sri Aurobindo, just below the surface consciousness that is selective and superficial, there is an inner existence—subliminal self ' much vaster, greater in depth and height of which no man has yet measured '.[4] The Subliminal is at times confused with the term Subconscious. It is subconscious only in the sense of its being veiled. Even the 'no man's land between the Subliminal and Surface consciousness with the presence of delusion and confusion is not of the nature of the Subconscious. The true Subconscient is only a portion of the entire subliminal. The Subliminal has 'a subtle perception a comprehensive extended memory and an intensive and selective intelligence, will, self consciousness' which are much more developed than that of the Surface mind while the Surface miond is conditioned by the limitations of the nervous system andthe physical organs. The Subliminal Proper has direct access to the different planes of consciousness through the Subliminal senses. Just blow the outer consciousness, the Subliminal contains the Inner mental, Inner vital, and physical which are directly in touch with the Universal forces that belong to the corresponding domain of Nature. Nearer to the Soul, it contains the true mind, true vital and true physical which directly respond to the divine light and power. The Subliminal soul is the true entity and the highest representative in evolution. It is only the Subliminal soul which enables the desire mind to experience the dualities of nature so as to grow. Left to itself, the Desire mind will not be able to advance more than the plant or stone.

The Subliminal is separated from the cosmic consiousness by means of the subtle sheaths - vital, mental and physical, which are however transparent. The Subliminal has a circum conscient - a conscious formation, projecting itself beyond all these sheaths and enveloping the whole being. It is through this circum-conscient that one receives forces of all kinds from the world and also deals with them before they enter our body. Good thoughts and purity of heart always tend to enrich and strengthen the circumconscient while bad suggestions and company may weaken it. It is also possible to enlarge the circum-conscient more and more till "it can break through the separation altogether, unite, identify itself with cosmic being, feel itself universal, one with all existence.[5]

4. Sri Aurobindo, *Life Divine*, p. 80.
5. Sri Aurobindo, *Savithri*, p. 271.

According to Sri Aurobindo, phenomena such as telepathy, and other supernormal faculties are the powers possessed by the Subliminal. Experimental findings in Psychical Research are rather inconclusive since such faculties are studied only to the extent of their being manifested on the surface mind. A great inner power of intuition, tact and discrimination are needed to understand such manifestations and the outermind may tend to misinterpret the same. A true knowledge of the Subliminal helps one to have an inner understanding with people around and the impersonal forces that surround us. Though the Subliminal gives us immediate· intimate, accurate and spontaneous knowledge of things, it cannot be considered as knowledge by identity which belongs to the range of superconscient.

Subconscious :

The real Subconscious is a 'nether diminished consciousness' above the inconscient and can be considered as its ante chamber. It is inferior, obscure, unmentalised, unobserved, uncontrolled and dumb occult consciousness. It is the retreating centre for all the vital instincts, and sanskaras and the Vedic Rishis rightly called them "those who cover" "those who devour", the "Robbers of the Sun". The Subsconcient forces usually manifest themselves through sleep and dream forces, disease and nervousness, their action being purely irrational, mechanical, repetitive, and involuntary. A descent into the subconscious would not help us to control it because it would plunge us in sleep, incoherence, or dull trance. One can become totally and directly aware of its working by means of a close mental scrutiny or by drawing back into the subliminal or by ascending into the superconscious.

Superconscient :

" If the Subliminal and subconscient can be compared to sea which throws up the waves of our surface mental existence the super conscient may be compared to an ether which constitutes, contains, overroofs, inhabits and determines the movements of the Sea and it waves".[6] Just like the subconscious, the superconscient has its own influence upon our ordinary life. Sri Aurobindo observes. 'The role of the superconscient has been to evolve slowly the spiritual man out of the mental half animal.[7] In order to attain superconscient one has to rise in consciousness till the hard lid at the top of the head breaks and one emerges into the light. Then "the consciousness is no longer in the body or limited by it. It feels itself not only above it but extended in space".[8] In the process of transformation, the superconscient must gradually become one's waking consciousness.

6. *Life Divine*, p. 501.
7. *Letter*, Vol II, p. 582.
8. *On Yoga*, II — Tometor 246.

Sri Aurobindo speaks of four zones of consciousness in the region of superconscient which may however vary functionally from one individual to the other. They are, in the ascending order, known as Higher mind, Illumined mind, Intuitive mind and Over mind. While the ordinary mind is ignorant and rarely sensitive to the tiny burst of divine light that descends, the Higher mind is capable of more intense absorption of the light while at the same time liable to decompose the same. The illumined mind enables a continuous access of light to the being with ease and happiness and spontaneous blossoming of creative talents especially poetry have been attributed to the Illumined mind. However, it is not transparent but only translucid.[9] The Intuitive mind always brings with it immediate knowledge and sudden-joy. The Intuitive mind sees things by flashes and not as a whole. Unfortunately, its knowledge is twisted or coloured by the ordinary mind so as to suit its own end. As one reaches the summit of consciousness, there is Overmind, which is the world of Gods, source of inspiration of the great founders of religions and artists. The Overmind is a cosmic consciousness - a principle of global knowledge. It is the Overmind which separates matter, life and mind from supermind and sat, chit, ānanda, the lower and higher hemisphere respectively. Inspite of its highest power in the ladder of evolution, it cannot transform the inconscient by itself. The final transformation can be effected only by the supermind or Vijnāna which is the divine gnosis - the infinite and eternal knowledge and will of the Divine consciousness.

Inconscient :

Just opposite to the superconscient is the Inconscient, the last and lowest limit of the involution of the spirit in the process of creation. They are primarily responsible for all the perverse characteristics in the world, such as unconsciousness, Inertia, Ignorance, disharmony, pain, suffering and evil. The ignorance typically characteristic of matter has its basis in Inconscience. However, Matter is Brahman itself, since it can always evolve out of its obscurity the Divine that lies hidden within it. As Sri Aurobindo observes "yet in this very base of the evolution all that

9. Satprem-*Sri Aurobindo or the adventure of consciousness*, p. 191.

is divine is there involved and pressing to evolve light, consciousness, power, perfection, Beauty, Love"[10]

Centres of Consciousness:

In the course of Yogic sadhana these stages of consciousness must be gradually identified and experienced by the seeker with the help of an unutterable silence of the mind, aspiration and surrender. During such an experiment, one may come across different centres of consciousness, each specialised in one type of vibration distinguishable from another. Each one of them responds according to the intensity of silence and keenness of perception. These chakras are subtle, but intense concentration at each one of them may produce a feeling of its physical localization.

The Superconscient has a centre, a little above the top of the head—through which we communicate with higher mental planes. There is the centre of subtle vision between the eyebows and one at the throat governing all forms of mental expression. The Vital has three centres one at the level of heart governing the emotional life, the second at the Naval governing our movements of domination, possession, conquest, ambition and a third, the lower vital between the naval and the sex centre, controlling the lowest vibrations like jealousy, envy, desire, covetousness, anger. The physical and the subconscient have the centre at the base of the vertebral column governing our physical being and sex. Only with yogic consciousness and practice, these centres open either from bottom to top, or from top to bottom. Since each centre corresponds to an universal mode of consciousness, there is always the risk of the lower centre opening first and swamping the individual in the absence of the corresponding light from above. This is specially avoided in Integral yoga since the centres may tend to open from top to bottom with a descent of Divine force always to counter act and transform the lower forces.

Consciousness and Dream Life:

During sleep our external consciousness sinks back into the inconscience and subconscient where the buried and rejected impulses are present which have a power of recurrence, since emotionally

10. *Yoga*, Vol. II, Tome I, p. 12.

charged. Usually it is the subconscious element in us which builds dreams or acts as the channel for fanciful formations to appear in a disguised manner. When the initial subconscious activity sinks back into complete inconscious we experience the illusion of dreamless sleep after which there is a return to waking consciousness. In the so called dreamless sleep we enter into the dense layer of the subconscient and inconscient -"a state too involved, too immersed or too obscure, dull and heavy to bring to the surface its structure"[11]. Hence after returning to waking consciousness, we do not remember to have had any dream at all.

The subconscious is not the sole dream builder - the subliminal is in fact a greater dream builder. While the sub-conscious activities in dream are characterised by incoherent thoughts and fantasy, the subliminal offers coherent and true experiences. During such times when the subliminal takes the activity of dream experience, our dream becomes a series of thoughts, warnings, premonitions, in contrast to incoherent subconscious material.

It is a fact that normally our dreams are of sub-conscious nature. But it is possible for them to assume a subliminal character full of reality and significance. Upanishads describe the subliminal as the 'Dream self' and superconscient as the 'Sleep self' the former consisting of inner existence, visions etc. while the latter remains a super normal condition devoid of mental and sensory experiences. Our waking life can be very much improved and enriched if only we are conscious of such prescious dream experiences in the subliminal and super conscient planes.

According to Sri Aurobindo and Mother the two greatest pioneers of Integral yoga, a coherent knowledge of sleep life though difficult is important and in fact possible. One should learn to be conscious of different stages in one's sleep, learn to recognise dreams and also distinguish them. It is quite natural for one to forget the earlier stages in dream experience and remember that which is near to the waking surface. One should first have a will to remember- to be reinforced while waking at fixed intervals. It is not enough merely to remember them but one should actively fill up the missing links and learn to

11. *Life Divine*, p. 381.

use our dreams and control them also Finally in the course of sincere practice our ordinary sleep will be replaced by conscious sleep, sleep of experience, and sleep of action.

Psycho-analytic view:-

In the West, Freud and Jung postulated certain theories on the basis of their clinical evidence. Freud spoke of conscious, preconscious and the unconscious. The unconscious consists of repressed instinctual representation-incompatible, uncompromising, mobile, timeless and charged with emotion. In Freudian system, the unconscious is alive, capable of development and influences the conscious and the preconscious. The censorship operates not only between conscious and unconscious but also between the preconscious and the unconscious. The communication between preconscious and unconscious is not one of mere repression - the preconscious pushing down the unwanted impulses into the unconscious - but it is also one of co-operation and compromise. The instinctual forces, in their effort to get expression at the conscious level, may manage to çircumvent the consorship and manifest in fanciful dream formations, abnormalities, and slip of tongue and pen. In the psycho - analytic treatment, the subject with the help of the analyst is required to overcome the objections of the censorship and become conscious of the core of his problem. According to Freud, the unconscious is not a demonic monster but a thing of nature and the danger from it grows in the measure that we practise repression.

Another interesting observation of Freud which may sound metaphysical is that the unconscious of one individual can react upon that of another without passing through the conscious. [14]

In the Jungian system, the superficial layer of the unconscious is personal unconscious, its contents being mainly of personal acquisitions and the deeper layer is inborn and called collective consciousness. The contents of the personal unconscious are chiefly the feeling toned complexes while the contents of the collective unconscious are archetypes. Archetypes are pre-existent forms and patterns of instinctual behaviour. Jung considers the

12. *Collected works of Sigmund Freud,* Vol. XIV. p. 194.

unconscious psyche as the mother of consciousness, but he cannot admit consciousness in the unconscious and consciousness without ego. While on the one hand he recommends widening, deepening and growth of consciousness in the process of individuation on the other hand he considers the 'superconscious' or 'higher conscious as merely unconscious. His argument is that selection and discrimination are the characteristic root of consciousness and such a 'ego consciousness' gets swallowed up, in the state of 'universal or higher consciousness.

These great exponents in psycho-analysis deserve their due credit for investigating the inner working of human nature But their work, being mainly of clinical interest, they were led to confine their study to a limited and superficial study of the dark abyss of psyche and generalised all human nature on the basis of their clinical knowledge. While recognising the need for cleaning the subconscious, they never realised that one cannot possibly go down, beyond one's capacity to rise up in consciousness. To search the subconscious, without the corresponding light from the superconscient is to let loose the darker forces without knowing the means to control and transform them. Human nature is such that it is always safer to start with positive experience instead of negative ones. 'The psycho-analysis especially of Freud takes up a certain part, the darkest, the most perilous, the unhealthiest part of the nature, the lower vital subconscious layer, isolates some of its most morbid phenomena and attributes to it and them an action out of all proportion to its free job in the nature. to raise it up prematurely or improperly for experience is to risk stuffing the conscious parts also with its dark and dirty stuff and thus poisoning the whole vital and even the mental Nature.[13] To Sri Aurobindo the significance of the lotus is not to be found by analysing the secrets of the mud from which it grows, but its secret is to be found in the heavenly archetype of the lotus that blossoms forever in the light above. Jung seems to be aware of it when he cautions that the unconscious is a psychical act-any effort to drill it is only apparently successful and more over harmful to consciousness. It remains beyond the reach of subjective arbitrary control-a

13. *On Yoga II*, Tome Two, p. 686.

realm where Nature and her secrets can be neither improved upon nor perverted where we can listen but may not meddle.[14] Jung seems to confirm the same when he notes that anyone descending into the unconscious gets into a suffocating atmosphere of egocentric subjectivity and in this blind alley is exposed to the attack of all the ferocious beasts which the cavern of the psychic underworld is supposed to harbour.[15] According to Jung, the first test of courage a confrontation with oneself consists in breaking one's 'persona' and to know the 'shadow'. Beyond the painful tight passage of the shadow, one enters "a boundless expanse - full of unprecedented uncertainty with apparently no inside and no outside, no above and no below, no here and there, no mine and no thine, no good and no bad.[16] It is rather surprising to note that he at the same time feels that consciousness - all embracing - 'a state in which subject and object are almost completely identical' is scarcely to be recommended anywhere north of the Tropic of Cancer.[17]

In short. according to Sri Aurobindo, human psychology is subtle and complicated and in as much as it tries to work on the lines of physical science it is rather meaningless since there is no correspondence. The true value of psychology lies in integrating and transforming the human personality through a charge and rise in consciousness. Sri Aurobindo is very hopeful of the fact that "the possibility of a cosmic consciousness in humanity is coming slowly to be admitted in Modern Psychology, like the possibility of more elastic instrument of knowledge although still classified, even when its value and power are admitted as a hallucination. In the psychology of the East. it has always been recognised as a reality and the aim of our subjective progress.[18]

14. Sigmund Freud: *Collecied Works*, Vol. XIII, p.
15. Carl Jung: *Collected Works*, 9. Part I, p. 20.
16. *Collected Works* of C. G. Jung, p. 21.
17. *Collected Works* of C. G. Jung, p. 288.
18. *Life Divine*, p. 22.

ON TRADITION

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The debate regarding the role of free-will and determinism in the social life of man centres round the concept of tradition. Tradition, as any other social phenomenon, can best be understood by analysing its role in moulding the lives of individuals and institutions. The role that tradition plays in regard to both individuals and societies is generally identified as that of handing over of ideas from one generation to another. Only in this sense it becomes meaningful to talk of the traditions that the individual inherits and societies are shaped by. Only when this element of the individuals and societies taking over ideas is conceded can any discussion of the 'growth' of the individual and the 'evolution' of the institutions become significant.

Unfortunately however, the basic truth regarding tradition that has been accepted is lost sight of, paradoxically it might seem, by over-emphasizing it. This has led to the view that tradition always hampers the healthy growth of the individual by dictating precisely the lines of his development and determining wholly his view and way of life. That the life of society is shaped completely by the past is only a corollary of over-playing the tune of tradition signifying the inheritance of ideas and ideals. It becomes necessary, therefore, to analyse tradition and precisely point out its significance as a social phenomenon-its significance for the individual being brought out in the very process.

In view of the intimacy of the relationship between the individual and society and because of the reciprocal nature of their interrelations, the significance of tradition can best be understood by a careful reflection on the institutional situation of man. Since the institutional situation itself is due to man's unique endowments, a passing reference to these also forms part of a proper study of tradition.

The two distinct aspect of human life, viz., reasoning capacity and the freedom of his will makes him comparatively free from the sway of his instincts. Unlike the animals man is not a helpless creature or victim, who cannot go beyond the instincts with which he is born; nor is he a passive creature to be subdued by his environment. This does not, however, mean that man rises far above the environment and breaks away completely from his hereditary endowments[1]. At the human level (as against the animal) therefore, social tradition supplies the MEDIUM in which man acts and determines the method through which his various innate tendencies may find expression and satisfaction.

The distinction between the instinctive basis and the mode of satisfaction of the innate desires in man drawn by Prof. Hobhouse is significant in this context, since, underlying the distinction, is the hint that man not merely is subjected to certain traditions in his institutions but also effects certain changes in them. He writes: "Love and the whole family life have an instinctive basis, that is to say, they rest upon tendencies inherited with the brain and nerve structure; but everything that has to do with the satisfaction of these impulses is determined by the experience of the individual, the laws and customs of the society in which he lives, the women he meets, the accidents of their intercourse and soforth"[2]. Man's capacity to go beyond heredity (the suggestion that traditions can modified to suit the needs of the individual and time) is specifically made clear by Hobhouse when he observes: "Heredity does not operate by itself in human nature but everywhere is in interaction with capacity to assimilate, to foresee and to control"[3].

It is evident then, that to the reflective consciousness of man, facts about social life are not mere faets; they suggest a problem. Man, by the power of his reflective consciousness seeks to solve problems from different considerations. He does not envisage solutions to his problems from the point of immediacy nor from subjective inclinations alone. He is not blind to the consequences following his solutions to the problems. Reflective consciousness enables man to take an overall picture of the consequences of his acts.

The human outlook on life which comprehends it in relation to its past and future, which is modified considerably by ethical considerations can properly be described as the philosophic

outlook. Such a complex view of life suggests new difficulties and leads to conflicts as also ways of resolving them. The emergence of such a complexity of purpose is evident from the birth of the ethical concept of conduct. In this connection the question is asked: "Is man's will free or is it determined by external circumstances?" *and leads on to questions like*: "*Is life in the* world a means to some end or is it an end-in-itself?" "When man is faced with the conflict between his instinctive craving for self-indulgence and the ethical demand for self-control how is he to resolve it" etc.

It is clear that attempting to find answers to questions like the above makes human life much more strenuous than when one lives only for the moment, for, man then experiences in the field of morality violent *conflict of ideals as indicated* above. Since a happy life is impossible as long as there is such a conflict, the conflict will have to be resolved in some satisfactory way. The power of reasoning in man paves the way for resolving the conflicts and hence we may maintain that its function is that of harmonising the impulses *by subordinating them to* broad and coherent ends[4]. It has the important function of directing and organising. We may conceive of it as a principle of growth and integration, an effort towards harmony. In the early phases of mental evolution the synthesis effected is but small and restricted, and it is only gradually seen.

Corresponding to reason in the individual life we have the institutions at the social level - functioning as promoters of an unitary life. We have to remember in this context that while judging the success or failure of social institutions, we should not lose sight of the fact that the institutions themselves have not attained a point of perfection from which they might be able to say that they have a perfect control over the conditions of their development. Perhaps, this is difficult to attain just as it is so even with regard to the individual. At any rate this function viz., harmonising and integrating the interests of the individuals of the social institutions is not difficult to discern.

The study of social institutions clearly brings out the fact that though while philosophizing about society stress is laid on the unity behind humanity - idealizing about society, - we should not

be unaware of the limitations on the possibilities of attaining such an unity. If social unity were an accomplished fact, traditions will have no significance in human society at all[5]. Since the ideals are not entirely different from the actualities, traditions help us to appreciate the lines along which the imperfect actualities could be transformed into the ideals envisaged but forgotten due to human factors. In effect the study of social institutions impresses on us the necessity of not exaggerating the extent of rational unity attained (or attainable) by humanity whereas the continuity of traditions assures us that mankind has not failed to look back to the wisdom of the past while trying to check the deterioration in the institutions.

Social institutions are thus the 'creations' of man[6] in order to achieve the values he aspires for, social unity being one of the most important values. Social institutions are the expressions of social motivation. They are not AD HOC artificial constructions arising from the habits and conventions of man; they are objectified purposes. Institutions are the channels through which man's value-sense expresses itself objectively. So, whatever might be the social institution that we consider we should not forget the fact that at the back of it are the individuals who make it what it is and contribute both to its success and failure. The 'subjective character'[7] required of the individuals composing society implies that social institutions do not mechanically unify human beings, obliterating their individuality and personality. Their aim merely is to prepare individuals for achieving an unity of outlook on the essential social ideals that make for social cooperation and harmony. By the very fact that the social institutions serve HUMAN needs, survive because of man's endeavour to realise his values through them, it follows that man's losing sight of their value on the one hand. and, on the other, insincere and half-hearted attempts at making use of them contribute to their failure.

This undesirable fact about the social institutions - their not properly functioning, not coming up to the expectations of man - is not infrequently met with. The state not bringing benefits to the citizens but becoming an autocratic entity sapping the citizens' enthusiasm to concretize the social good, property becoming an end-in-itself rather than a means, creating an ever-widening gulf between the haves and the have-nots and eventually leading on

to differing political ideologies and programmes and religion becoming the centre of emotional conflicts and petty quarrels - all these are concrete examples of the corruption of the institutions.

Since institutions are the results of the individuals' aspiring for realising values in co-operation with one another, they are themselves responsible for the corruption that sets in in the institutions. It is often said that by devising institutional checks the corruption of the individuals can be effectively checked and ultimately the real purposes behind the institutions can be realised. Tradition, we are suggesting, is this intermediary which prevents the institutions curbing the growth of the individuals on the one hand and, on the other promotes the true significance of the institutions.

Traditions being ideas handed down through succeeding generations in the various spheres of the individual's life in society provide them with the background knowledge of each one of the institutions facilitating an easy incorporation in himself of the ideals and values prevailing in his society. On a deeper analysis of social life we find that the real social atmosphere for the individual is NOT MERELY the individuals among whom he is born and brought up but rather the relationship that holds them together - the ideas and ideals they have been having - the views prevailing. The organic and reciprocal relationship that exists between the individual and society helps tradition to influence the individual by giving him a background against which he acts. The individual being organic to society draws his inspiration from his society and tradition, by preserving the continuity of ideas of the past with the present supplies the individual with the ideas which have been purified and distilled by the social ethos.

It is obvious, tradition brings out the sociality of man by insisting on institutionalising his values and idealisations. By closely linking up the individual with the institutions it breaks the barriers between the individual and society. Having a responsible function both in regard to the individual and in regard to society, it steers clear of anarchic individualism which makes the individual all-important and totalitarianism which destroys the individual and makes the institution the most supreme.

It might be pointed out here that the social institutions rather than the traditions are the influential factors in the individual's view and way of life and hence the part played by tradition ought not to be exaggerated or over-stated. In reply we might say that we are in full agreement with the view that institutions play a significant role in man's life-determining *the character of his beliefs* and disbeliefs and moulding him into a personality, but that a deeper analysis of the institutions themselves reveals the subtle but substantial role tradition plays in shaping them and determining their growth.

The deeper and hence the not-so-evident role that tradition plays in the shaping of the social institutions is discernible from the 'dialectics' that is at work in regard to them. The 'dialectics' may not be as pronounced in the case of all the institutions as it has unfortunately been in regard to the institution of property, but, all the same theories or ideologies differing from one another come into contact with each other and pave the way for the next phase in the evolution of the institution in question. The institution of property which has, in modern times assumed decisive significance in the realm of political ideology lays bare the principle permeating the evolution of the social institutions in general and hence may be referred to in some detail here.

The Communist view of property that it has to be 'earned' and not accumulated, that it has potentialities in regard to the working of the political machinery has resulted in its concentration on solving the problem of the have-nots by revolutionary methods. The opposite view has resisted this on the ground that in the absence of political freedom (which is bound to be curtailed by the Communist *technique) economic equality is of no* value.

Both the views, however, owe their very existence to the rationlist tradition, the tradition of reflecting about the existent social situation. The proletarians' point of view that justice has not been done to them is due to a calm reflection of their lot vis-a-vis that of the bourgeois, of the way in which their labour gets underpaid and becomes converted into wealth accumulating in the hands of the under-paying, exploiting class in society. The other side of the case is equally influenced by the tradition of free enquiry and freetrade believing that justice to the individual is done in proportion to his

there being or not being complete freedom for the individuals to develop their personality.

More precisely it can be pointed out now that the rationalist tradition has been pleading not merely for arguing out issues but for maintaining certain moral standards by human beings in designing the various institutions. To refer to certain principles which ought to regulate the various social institutions - be it the state, property, marriage or punishment, to instance only a few-is to acknowledge the MORAL FABRIC enveloping the domain of HUMAN THINKING Traditions thus provide the social institutions with the necessary background to formulate certain principles to govern them. These may be termed rules, regulations or laws. The idea behind formulating them is clearly ethical. The rules or laws themselves may become formal, an air of artificiality may come to prevail in their observance and the spirit behind them may become lost sight of but this is because the social institutions lose touch with their own traditions.

The role of tradition in regard to the social institutions then is *that it provides them with the principle* of *healthy* growth. When the principle itself is not observed or forgotten, we have the improper functioning of the institutions-referred to earlier as smothering *the growth of the individual completely* or unduly stressing his importance. The reviving of the principles improperly grasped or half-heartedly adhered to is obviously the sure way of ensuring the *proper functioning of* the institutions and this can be referred to as reviving the traditions. In this the responsibility of the individuals is very great since they have to pursue the values (that have been *handed over to them* by their tradition) more sincerely and scrupulously. Values prescribed by human tradition through religion, culture and philosophy having significance not merely for *the individual* but to the 'others' as well, i. e., having social significance, by pursuing them properly, the institutions incorporating them become truly reconstructed.

The *subtle role of tradition* hinted at earlier has now been made explicit, viz. that it restrains the individuals and institutions from experiencing radical changes. Institutions aiming at and experiencing *radical changes* and individuals aspiring for and achieving sudden transformations are more often met with and very much more probable than the traditions undergoing instant

changes. The reason for this is that traditions in regard to the individuals change, by and large, when the institutions of which they are members undergo changes and the institutions themselves are dependent on the initiative of the individuals and their continuous enthusiasm to effect the changes. In the case of the individuals PER SE or the institutions PER SE, EX HYPOTHESI there is no restraining influence and so the changes occur. The restraining influence of tradition over the individuals is derived from the fact that since they continue through generations they gather a momentum of their own and establish strong roots in the individual's life, as moulded by his society and its institutions. The restraining influence .of tradition over the social institutions is gathered from the fact that institutional changes are basically *dependent on the individuals, who are not merely subjec*ted to the restraining influences of the various institutions but also tradition as indicated earlier.

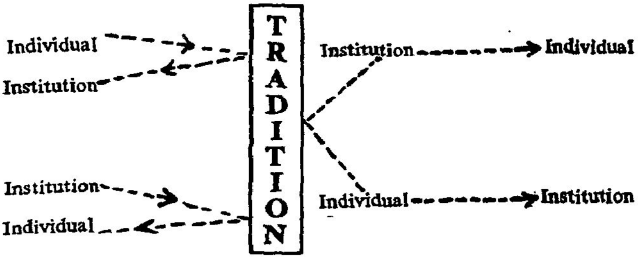
The role of tradition as an intermediary between the individual and society thus consists in its important task of mapping out the exact relationship between the individual and society. This delicate task is fulfilled by the rationalistic element in the individual making the individual actively participate in the social institutions, not being passively led away by them. The same rationalistic element is helpful also in resisting the changes when they are considered unnecessary or unfruitful to society.

In conclusion it may be reiterated that tradition as a social phenomenon does not hamper the 'growing individual' but rather ensures his healthy development. The difficult role is fulfilled by restraining him as well as society, him through society and society through him. In the process individuality is neither destroyed nor deified and similarly society is neither elevated nor eliminated, the individual and society being 'protected' against the extremities of one another. The constant interaction observable between the individual, society and tradition, the situation of mutual involvement and influence discernible in the interaction and the consequent difficulty in determining which one of the three is more influential over the other two can be summed up in the following scheme :

INFLUENCE

OF	THROUGH	ON
Tradition	Institution	Individual
Tradition	Individual	Institution
Individual	Tradition	Institution
Institution	Tradition	Individual

Diagramamatically our these is may be represented thus.



NOTES & REFERENCES

1. If this is the case· traditions will have no part to play at all in human life. It is because man is neither completely free from the influence of tradition and the *social institutions* nor completely determined by them that traditions and the social institutions play their decisive roles in his life.
2. L. T. Hobhouse: *Morals in Evolution*, London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 2nd edn., revised, 1926, p. 12.
3. L. T. Hobhouse. *Mind in Evolution*· London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 3rd edn., 1926, p. 13.
4. Morris Ginsberg: *The Psychology of Society*, London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1954· p. 41.
5. Tradition thus represents the consciousness of the individuals and societies of their search for 'fulfilment'.
6. It is not suggested here that society itself was a result of a convention or a *contract of some* kind and not natural. One of the fundamental presuppositions of the paper is that man is social by nature. Our position is akin to that of Harry Elmer Barnes who writes: 'Since members of the human race naturally and spontaneously assemble, it became necessary, even in small and primitive groups, to create some rules to guide the process of living together. These rules were not at first the product of any deliberate plan. Men automatically came together, struggled for livelihood and cooperated for defence. In the process they created social habits· institutions, classes and purposive groups; ....' (See *Social Institutions*, New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1942).
7. The term signifies that the individuals, by aiming at and achieving value-fulfilment contribute to the success of the social institutions.

SECTION II:
REPORTS OF SEMINAR

A seminar on "*Mutual Impacts of Indian and other Oriental Theatres*" was held by the Institute of Traditional Cultures on Monday, the 21st September, 1970, in room No. 48 of the University Departmental Buildings. The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminar.

Present:

Director:

Prof, K. A. Nīlakanta Sastri, M. A.

Leader:

Sri V. Rāmasubramaṇiam (Aundy). Director- Principal, Academy of Theatrical Research, 95, V.R. Pillai St. Madras-5.

Participants:

Sri P. N. Appuswāmi, B. A., B. L., Advocate, 24, II Main Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.

Sri M. M. Bhat, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of Kannada, University of Madras.

Sri S. Gurumūrti, M.A.,M.Litt., Technical Assistant cum Curator, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Sri Kodandarāman, Actor, Art Experimental Theatre, No. 1-B, Rangayya Naidu Street, Ayanavaram, Madras-23.

Dr. C. Kunjuṇṇi Rajah, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Sri M. K. Mani Shāstry, No. 28, Swami Pillai Street, Triplicane, Madras-5.

Sri Murali Krishnan, Playwright, No. 1/1, Ballard Street, Madras-11.

Sri P. Murugayyan, Actor, Art Exprimental Theatre, Stores Assistant, Government Mental Hospital, Madras-10.

Sri B. S. Rāmiah, Playwright, 103 A, Purasawalkam High Road, Madras-10.

Sri D. Sadāśivam, M.A.,M.Litt., Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Dr. Sankararajulu Nāidu, Professor of Hindi, Hindi Department, University of Madras, Madras-5.

Sri A. R. Sowrirājan, B.A., No. 1, Chetty Street, Ayanavaram, Madras-23.

Sri Vedam Venkatarāya Sāstri, M.A., Telugu Actor, No. 4, Mallikeswarar Temple South Lane, Linghi Chetty Street, Madras-1.

Sri M. Venkatarāman, M.A., (Nāḍodi), Secretary, College of Dramaturgy, 42, Second Main Road, Kasturbanagar, Adyar, Madras-20.

Smt. Saraswati Venkatarāman, Manager, College of Dramaturgy, 42, Second Main Road, Kasturbanagar, Adyar, Madras-20.

Welcoming the invitees to the Seminar the Director said: "I extend a hearty welcome to you all and look forward to your valuable participation in this seminar. Mr. V. Rāmasubramaṇiam (Aundy), I know, is a devout worker in the field of the Dramatic Art and Theatre: he has almost a life-interest in the subject. He led a seminar for us in 1961 on "Theatres, Indian and Western—Their Mutual Impacts" and this seminar is a supplementary to it. On the occasion of the former seminar, some participants, not knowing English well enough, felt that they could have followed his paper and discussions thereon if the seminar had been conducted in Tamil. To meet their wishes, a Tamil translation* of Sri Rāmasubramaṇiam's paper was subsequently published by the Institute. Having it in view, Sri Rāmasubramaṇiam and I agreed that it should be open to the participants in this seminar to speak either in Tamil or English and Rāmasubramaṇiam himself will speak in Tamil. The whole proceedings, however, will be published in English. The "Scope and Motif" of the subject of his paper, as stated below, was circulated in advance to the invitees, so that they could think beforehand on the subject and contribute their own views in the course of the discussion. I shall no longer stand between you and the subject; I request Sri Rāmasubramaṇiam to lead the seminar.

Scope and Motif of "Aundy's" Talk.

The *scope* of this paper is limited. It is not intended to be a survey of the distinctiveness or uniformity in the forms, structures and contents of each of the theatres of the Orient, nor is it even a general review of them all. It is but a study of the elements in about a dozen oriental theatres which betray Indian influence and of those in the Indian theatre which reveal non-Indian oriental impacts. The cultures covered are Egyptian, Hebrew, Persian, Ceylonese, Tibetan, Burmese, Indonesian, Siamese, Cambōdian, Vietnamese, Philippino, Chinese and Japanese, besides the Indian.

It is necessary to point out at the outset two important limitations, viz., of Space and Time. By "limitations of Space", it is meant that, when dealing with the cultures of India and other countries of the Orient, we have to forget our present political maps and picture in our minds the oldest as well as the older boundaries of the above-mentioned cultural units. For example, when dealing with the Vedic, the Buddhist and the Purānic Indias, we have to think of Taxila and Gāndhāra as the geo-centres of Indian culture from where it radiated in all directions for about five hundred to a thousand miles only. That may include, of course, W. Pakistan, Afghanistan and Russian and Chinese Turkestans and exclude perhaps the Deccān, Bengāl and Assām, during those earliest epochs. But as Indian culture had never been so homogeneously spread out through the Indian subcontinent as at present, and as each non-Vedic regional culture—such as the Tamilian—had its own individuality as well as independent impacts on other oriental cultures, it has been thought unwise to ignore them in this study.

And, again, when speaking about the Orient, it is not wise to eschew the ancient Egyptian culture, even though Egypt happens to be outside Asia. The Orient does not mean Asia alone. Similar mental pictures of the other cultural areas have also to be imagined so as to visualise the routes and means through which mutual impacts occurred.

By "limitations of Time", it is meant the period or periods in which the major impacts took place. In these days of International Cultural Exchange programmes, each culture is receiving constant impacts on it from every other culture of the world. These are sure

to metemorphose the theatrical arts of every country within the next decade itself. Athough it is not impossible to offer scientific prognoses of such integrations, such predictions are eschewed in this paper for fear of digressions. It is, therefore, thought proper to confine this study to the *past only* and not to the multi-faced present, nor to the unseen future.

And, further, with a view *not to keep* the receptors of this study in *suspense* as to the *motif* of its dialectical approach and argumentation, it is considered proper to inform them in advance that the Leader has discovered many plot-materials, myths and concepts as well as rites and rituals, clothed in allegories, similies and metaphors, common to many distant oriental civilizations, which are supposed to be isolated from each other due to lack of transport and communication facilities. How such a phenomenon occurred and who the lenders and the borrowers were are archaeological problems requiring deeper investigations. But, in these days of nationalistic chauvinism domineering over the spirit of impartial reason, it is often imprudent to risk any conjectures regarding the lender and the borrower.

As some of the scholars and co-workers of Mr. Aundy in the Academy of Theatrical Research and in the Post-Graduate College of Dramaturgy, Madras, are also participating in this seminar with their papers on the impacts of a few Asiatic cultures on the Indian theatre, he has chosen to bypass those studies covered by them.

Sri V. Ramasubramaniam:

I. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Director, Professors, Artistes and Scholars,

Let me at the outset thank Prof. Nīlakanta Śāstri for affording me this oppotunity to complete the *Short Survey of the Mutual Impacts of Indian and World Theatres*, which I began to discuss through an earlier seminar of this kind in 1961. During these last nine years, newer data have accumulated almost to the extent of prompting me to modify earliar conclusions, regarding several aspects of my theme. The vastness and diversity of the subject of today's discourse make it extremely difficult for me to do full justice to them during the two hours allotted to this seminar itself. I have,

however, requested three of my co-workers in the Academy of Theatrical Research to deal with those historical factors which I had to omit due to want of time. Their papers and mine may, therefore, be considered as a single unit and I request you to discuss them in that light.

II. DRAMATIC ORIGINS

2. The theatrical art of the world is the crystalized form of the *ecstatic trances* of primitive worship.[1] Even today, divine manifestations are attested to in some religious communities by ritual trances of some of its so-called 'spirit-imbued' individuals.[2] Students of comparative religion prefer to call this cult 'Shamanism' and its spirit-imbued mediums "Shamans" from the currency of these terms in Siberia and Central Asia. When the "spirit" comes down to inhabit the body of the Shaman priest of the Samjodis of Siberia, he begins to leap and dance, at first slowly and then quickly. He begins his performance by playiug on a drum which he carries; with the progress of the frenzy, it is felt as an impediment and is discarded. His head is lowered, eyes half-closed, disordered hair half-hiding his sweating face, his mouth twisted and foaming with saliva streaming down his chin.

3. Dr. E. M. LOEB, in his paper on "Shaman and Seer" in the "American Anthropologist", No 31 (1908), remarks: "The state of ecstasy is induced by beating on drums, dancing, intoxicating drinks, etc. When the subject is possessed, he speaks with the voice of the spirit. He is then able to give advice from the spirit-world and to prophesy. While possessed, the medium undergoes paroxysms of hysteria, epilepsy and other convulsions, which remind one of hypnotism, autolepsy, lethargy and somnambulism."

4. This phenomenon has been called "Inspirational Shamanism". It is found in Siberia, South India, Malanesia, Fiji, Indonesia and among the Veddas of Ceylon. Bishop Caldwell, in his thesis on "Tinnevelly Shāṇārs" (1899), declares "Every word used in the foregoing description of Shamanite worship would apply equally to the Dravidian demonolatry; and in depicting the ceremonies of the one, we depict those of the other."

1. *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Primitive Races*-Dr. Ridgeway.
2. *Village Gods of South India* by Whitehead.

5. "The Shaman's fitness for his office has been determined by his own susceptibility to trance. Once recognized as the right sort of person to be a shaman, he shares with others of the same calling *the secrets of the profession, a knowledge* of powerful drugs, methods of auto-hypnotism, dance patterns inducing vertigo and frenzy, and techniques resulting in trance states, visions and hysteria. All these are interpreted as valuable for spirit possession and control." ("Religious Dancing," by Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph. D., *Lucknow University*).

6. This age-old cult was once prevalent in many parts of the world. Central Asia, being the only strategic high road that connected the civilized countries of ancient China, South East Asia and India with Persia, Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Arabia and Greece, was the mixing cauldron of the cultures of these countries, Shamanism being the common ingredient of them all.

7. That the pre-Vedic nomads, whatever be their names, passed through Central Asia, on their way to India, Tibet, and South East Asia, has long been established as a historical fact. That the Vedic Aryans too were worshipping their divinities through costumed dances of their 'Rishis' (seers) is evidenced by the story of the sage Gritsamada, (mentioned in the "Mahābhārata" and other sources), who had assumed Indra's disguise several times to save the cult of worship of that god from the persecutions of the asuras. The famous Rig Vedic hymn containing the refrain "I am Indra ....&c"(*repeated a dozen times, suggests but a trance*-dance motif. It is, therefore, even tempting to draw a natural conclusion that the words "Sāma-gāna' and "Shaman" had a common ancestor. There is a distinct school of thought in Modern India which traces the origin of iconography or image-making itself to the original *abhinayas or dance-poses that have got themselves* stylized during the course of several centuries of ritualistic practice.

8. After the discovery in Anatolia of the famous Boghaskeui inscription, *the antiquity of the* Vedic culture and its *migrations*, even as early as 1450 B. C., to Asia Minor has been firmly established. Mitra, Indra, Varuna and the Nasatyas were invoked in the above inscription to bless a peace-treaty signed

3. Sri T. G. Aravamudan, Madras.
4. Dr. B.B. Charles in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. 6.

by two Indo-Aryan nations of that region—the Hittites and the Mittanni. The cult of prophesying by certain God-intoxicated mediums, so common in Central Asia, Babylon, Palestine, Greece and Rome, may or may not have derived its inspiration from the above-mentioned Vedic practice, but it is certain that none of the western Asian ancients had evolved a regular stylized code of gestures for their ritual dances, as did the ancient Indians who had possessed more then one school of Natas, each having its own Nata-sutras or 'dance-treatises" by the time of the great grammarian, Panini (c. 450 B. C.).[5] Sumeria Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Ionia, Greece, Persia and Ancient China could certainly boast of having developed the art of poetry, literature and music, not inferior to those of Vedic India, and Central Asia might have transmitted their techniques to India and South-east Asia, even though it could not retain for itself any of them for various reasons. But the unique techniques of the arts of Tāṇḍava, Lāsya and Abhinaya were of Indian growth, developed in the Indian soil, through the impacts of many immigrant and indigenous civilizations that occurred between 1500 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era. It is, therefore, quite legitimatc to postulate that, wherever there exists in the present day any relic of conventional dance-poses in any part of the world, there is the possibility of tracing Indian influence there at some period or other of world-history.

III. ANCIENT EGYPT

9. I had already referred to the origin of the Egyptian theatre in my earlier paper of 1961. But that was in connection with its influence on the Greek and Roman theatres. I wish today to deal with its influence on Indian culture in general and theatre in particular. Let me quote for your easier understanding the relevent passages from that paper :—

" The earliest record of theatrical performance in the whole world comes from Egypt. It goes back to 4000 B.C. Fifty-five plays have been found within the pyramids and tombs and were identified as dramas by Maspero in the last century. They contained stage-directions and the names of characters that speak.

5. *Natasutras of Sailalin and Krisasva*-Panini, IV-3.

They record the ascent to heaven of dead rulers. In 3300 B.C., there were a second class of performances, called 'Hebsed', which celebrated the accession to power of a Pharoah. Dr. Ridgeway states that the curing of the sick and the driving of demons were the purposes of many of these performances............The last form of Egyptian worship was " The Passion-Play ", centering round the god Osiris and the goddess Isis. This drama of Osiris, Isis and Horus has been regarded as the proto-type of the Greek festivals of Bachus or Dionysus, which gave birth to the art of the Attic Tragedy. "

Now, I propose to connect the above-mentioned myth of Osiris, Isis and Horus with the famous Indian myth of Urvaśi, Purūravas and Āyus.

10. *Osiris* was the son of the creator-god of vegetation, *SEB*, by a mortal wife. *Isis* was also Seb's daughter by the Goddess *NUT*, or Rhea, a personification of all the spirits of heaven. Seb was often equated with *PTHA*, the Father of the Beginning, his name conveying the meaning of 'Opener' and 'Carver'. The Greeks equated him with *CHRONOS*, the God of Time, and the Hindus with *Pita* or *Pitāmaha*, or *Aadi-pitā* (the first Father) or *Viśvakarma* (the Architect).

Besides Isis, Seb had another immortal daughter, *Naphthys*, the goddess of Night, and an immortal son by name SETH, or Typhon, the eternal enemy of virtue. Osiris rose from humble and obscure human beginnings to the position of the King (Pharoah) of Egypt. The Goddess Isis fell in love with him and, assuming human form, married him. Osiris became the first introducer of agriculture and civilization into Egypt and people began to worship him as their god-king. He made followers by music, song and dance. During his absence Isis, his wife, administered the kingdom. But Seth (Typhon), his divine half-brother, conspired with 72 of the older priests of Egypt, who were dissatisfied with their loss of prestige due to the rational administration of Osiris, and killed Osiris treacherously by inducing him to enter an air-tight wooden chest (LARNAX) and closing it before he could come out. The chest was then floated on the river Nile.

Seth went up to Isis and attempted to capture her. But she escaped in the form of a bird and went out in search of the box.

After a lengthy search, she was able to locate it in the city of the King Melcarth of Byblus. But, by that time, it had been covered over with the roots and stem of a miraculously growing tree, which was cut down and posted as a pillar in the centre of Melcarth's palace. Without disclosing her real identity, Isis took service in the Palace as a nurse to the Royal baby, which she also loved, and wanted to make it immortal. But in the secret process of incantation, she was discovered and identified. The terrified King and his Queen gave her the miraculous pillar with its contents.

Isis, thereupon, recovered her husband's body from the chest and revived it to life with her magic powers. The pillar and the chest were, however, placed in a temple at Byblus to be worshipped by all. Isis did not go back to her Egyptian palace, but lived incognito in an out-of-the-way village of Egypt. A son, Horus, was born to her by Osiris. But before Horus could grow to manhood, Seth came to know of their whereabouts. He recaptured Osiris and cut him into 14 big pieces and one smaller piece, and scattered them at various places of Egypt. The smaller piece was his sexual organ thrown into the Nile and it was devoured by a crocodile. He wooed Isis as before, but she repulsed his advances and fled again in the guise of a bird. She began collecting all the fragments of the body of Osiris and succeeded after a long time in bringing them together. Osiris was thus alive again.

By this time Horus had grown to manhood. He took up arms against Seth and, defeating him in battle, brought him captive before his mother to have him punished with death. But the noble lady set him free. The irate Horus, thereupon, tore off the diadem from Isis' head. But THOTH, the Egyptian god- priest, gave her instead a new crown in the shape of a cow's head. He also explained to Horus that Seth was not only immortal but also the wedded husband of his mother's goodnatured sister, Naphthys (Goddess of Night), who had helped her considerably during her search for Osiris' body. After placing Horus on the throne as the pharoah, Osiris and Isis ascended heaven as immortals to be anointed there as the king and queen of the World of the Dead.

11. This is one of the many versions of the 'Passion play' of Egypt recovered from antiquity. It is a well-known socio-psychological phenomenon that, when scientific truths had been revealed and

explained through allegorical myths or poetical metaphors, the universal tendency of the mass of people receiving them is to bypass or forget the truths themselves during the course of centuries and take the literal contents of the allegorical myths as historical facts. The original sanctity attached to the older truths automatically transplants itself on the personalities of the various characters occurring in the psuedo-history. As several variants as well as varieties of allegories and metaphors could be employed to convey the idea or ideas inherent in a single truth, different pseudo-histories also develop in a single cultural area. And when these latter migrate to other cultural areas, the importing countries develop stranger pseudo-histories of their own to suit their cultural mores.

12. Thus Plutarch records another version of the myth of Osiris, in which Seth or Typhon charges Horus with illegitimacy, which the latter refutes by proving that Isis was embraced by the spirit of Osiris, as a result of which Harpocrates or Horus was born. Plutarch gives an etymology for the name Osiris-viz. OS = many, IRIS=eye, the whole word conveying the sense of 'many eyed'.

13. In yet another later version of this myth, Typhon is made the lawful divine husband of Isis and Isis is charged with illicit union with her brother, Osiris. Typhon's acts were thus justified as proper punishments for her disloyalty.

(Does this not remind us of the Indian myths of Ahalya's and Tara's lapses with Indra and Chandra respectively, of the thousand-eyed god, who had to lose his male organ in consequence of the curse of the sage Gautama, and of the Moon-god, who had been cursed by the Sage Brhaspati to suffer consumption for 14 ¾ days?)

14. Herodotus (II-48) mentions a rude dramatic performance of the legends of Osiris in Egypt. But more elaborate data occur in an Egyptian inscription of Meneptha, near a temple of Seti I. I-KHER-NEFERT, a royal official, records that he had to organise a performance and take part in the acting. "I performed the 'Great Coming-forth' of AP-NAT, when he set out to defend his father. I drove back the enemy from the *Nesh-Nat* Boat. I overthrew the foes of Osiris. I followed the god in his footsteps. I made the hearts of the dwellers in the East to expand with joy".

15. Dr. W. Ridgeway, who quotes the above extract in his "Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races" (page 115), remarks: "The above narrator must have acted the part of ferrymen for Thoth, and also of other characters like Horus ....Actual human victims were slaughtered at the oldest temple of Busiris even when the dramatic rituals were enacted—probably prisoners of war and criminals.........The performances must have extended several days.........Similar mysteries were enacted at Heliopolis, Letopolis, Buto and other temples."

16. I have already referred to the transhipment of this myth in a slightly different form to Asia Minor as the myths of Aphrodite and Adonis. The Ionian Greeks further modified it into the legend of Dionysus, the patron-deity of the Greek Tragedy. The name 'Dionysus' is but a variant of 'Adonis'.

17. In India it became the famous Vedic myth of Urvaśi and Purūravas, which is the basic story element (kathā-vastu) of Kālidāsa's "Vikramorvaśiyam". Purūravas was the human grandson of the Moon-god SOMA, the deity of vegetation. Purūravas became king by virtue of his prowess and wisdom. He introduced reforms which displeased the rishis. But he met the divine damsel, URVAŚĪ, and fell in love with her. His love was reciprocated and they married. The gods and gandharvas did not relish this alliance. When she was about to become a mother, they succeeded in separating her from her husband. The rishis too conspired in the meanwhile and assassinated him. When Āyus was born, he was brought up secretly elsewhere away from home. He grew to manhood and captured his father's throne. When he wanted to recall his parents from the other world, he was told that they had become immortal, due to the intervention of Urvaśī and that they were to be the guardian-deities of the arts of dance and drama to be performed at the funerals of all great personages.

18. Urvaśī is the solar goddess of the dawn and the evening equated in the earlier Vedas with Ushas, as per Sāyana, Macdonnell Max Muller and others. She is naturally an aspect of the Sun-god, who is the nucleus of the measurement of Time. Isis is also the daughter of Chronos (Time) and Nut. Iss is a variant of Eos or Ushas. Purūravas was the grandson of the Moon, Soma, who is another nucleus for the measurement of Time—Viz. the *thithis*.

They are always united on Amāvāsyas and smiling at each other on Paurnimas. Isis and Osiris were separated by the demon of darkness, the Lunar Eclipse, Seth, or Kethu. The cutting of Osiris into 14 big pieces and one small piece represents the division of the lunar paksha (fortnight)into 14 ¾ parts. Horus means 'Hour', a unit of time, which corresponds to the Hindu 'HORA'. And Āyus' also conveys the meaning of 'life-time', Osiris, Isis and Horus were the patron - deities worshipped through dance and drama. Dionysus was its patron-deity in Greece and Ionia. Urvaśī was specially created by Brahma to help Bharata in the art of Nāṭya and she it was who brought the arts of drama and dance from heaven to the earth. In the Tamil "Śilappadhikāram" too, the author states that 'Urvaśī incarnated as the first Mādhavi and introduced the art of Nāṭakam on the earth.

19. I have a vague premonition that even the Indian Śiva-Tāṇḍava and Śivakāmi-Lāsya must have evolved out of the trance-dances of the Shamanistic mediums of the Linga cult (śiśna-devata worshippers) of pre-Vedic times. My colleague, Mr. P. Ānand, B. A, has agreed to deal with this subject in extenso in his talk today.

20. Before proceeding to the Hebrew theatre, it is necessary to touch upon another evidence of theatrical impact between Egypt and India, which I have already elaborated in my earlier paper of 1961. It is the evidence of the so-called "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus". This is a fragment of a manuscript of a Greek comedy, discovered in the nineties of the last century at Oxyrhynchus, a village in Egypt. Among other records was found a Greek comedy, which contained the story of a Greek maiden, smuggled into the west coast of India, serving an Indian King as the high-priestess of a Devi temple of his. After some time, her Greek brother arrives there with his companions and rescues her from captivity after drugging the Indian king and his retinue with strong Greek wine. A few non-Greek passages occur in this play, and they are put into the mouths of the Indian king and his followers. A drinking song in that language is also sung by the king. Dr. L. Rice and some other orientalists identified these passages as being in the Canarese language. Dr. Shyāma Śāstri even attempted to decipher them into modern 'Kannada'. But the late Justice K. G. Śesha Iyer, the author of the "The Kingdom of the Cheras, told me in 1926 during an interview

that the language could not be Kannada, as the 2nd century A. D. was too early for that language to originate, and that the strange passages might be in one of the twelve varieties of Koḍum-Tamizh dialects, prevalent in the Kerala coast at that time. From Shyāma Śāstri's article, I was able to recognize two rhyming words occurring in the drinking song viz. PĀNAM and MĀNAM which happen to be Sānskrit and also PĀRAKAM. It occurred to me that the language must have been a Maṇipravāḷa of Sānskrit or Prākrit with a local 1st century dialect of Tamil. Here is the unpunctuated passage :

"Panoumbretikate-manouambretouoeni
Parakoumbretikate-manouambretouoeuni,
Olousadizapardupiskateman areiman......"

Mahākavi Ulloor Paramesvara Iyer also agreed with me.

In another prose exclamation of a clown I recognized the names Thoma, Maria and Martha, which happen to be Hebrew names. (Buffoon : "Martha marithouma edmaimai maitho .... theamouna martha marithoume".) I conjectured that the speaker must have been an Alexandrian Jew.

IV. THE HEBREWS

21. There was a body of dramatic literature in the 3rd century Jewish community of Egypt based on the Old Testament. The Jews of Alexandria assimilated Hellenic culture to such an extent that the Old Testament had to be translated for them into Greek. Ezekiel, who was called "The Poet of Jewish Tragedies", wrote in the Greek language and style a play by name "EXODUS". and its fragments are available. They enable us to reconstruct the play. In its opening Monologue, Moses, having fled to Midian after killing the Egyptian task-master, recites the story of his life. Next comes the incident of his meeting with the Midianite priest's daughters and his marriage to one of them. Later Moses has a dream, which his father-in-law interprets as presaging a high destiny for him. Very soon the "Voice of the Burning Bush" orders him back to Egypt to deliver his people from bondage. Then comes the escape of the Hebrews, the drowning of their pursuers in the Red Sea. And finally the chosen people are seen in the Wilderness, when a messenger informs Moses that there is an oasis near-by with palm trees and numerous springs of water. Here the fragments break.

22. The closest approach to drama is to be found in "The Song of Songs" and "The Book of Job". Properly arranged, the "Song of Songs" lends itself to production like a play. Even though there is no evidence of its having been produced in a theatre, it was often performed in part or whole at wedding celebrations. It is a lovely romance with a dramatically cohesive action and story. Prof. Moulton summarises the plot thus:

23. "King Solomon, while visiting the vineyards of Mount Lebanan with his followers, discovers a beautiful Sheelamite girl. She flees from him; but the monarch returns to the spot in the guise of a shepherd and wins her love. After this he comes to her again, this time in state and makes her his queen. The play begins with the wedding, in the course of which these events are brought out, being re-told haphazardly, as is natural when a happy bride and bridegroom recall the first wonder of courtship."

Except in "Romeo and Juliet" and "Antony and Cleopatra", it is difficult to find words more evocative of passion, The real author of the play is not known.

24. The story of Job was arranged as drama in A. D. 1587 by Theodore Beza. Its spirit, like its dramatic conflict, is inward and, as closet drama, it is unsurpassed by any work in existence. It is the legendary story of the patient man, Job, the prosperous and just, who lost his property, his children, and the soundness of his body in a succession of arbitrary disasters. He ceases to be patient and begins to question the justice of God. His friends give him the most indigestible crumbs of consolation in three rounds. In the first debate, Eliphas advises him to be patient on the ground that suffering is the lot of man and that God will reward him in the end. Bildad seconds Eliphas. Zophas suggests that Job has no right to call himself righteous, since suffering is but an expiation of former sinfulness. In the 2nd round of debate all the three seize upon the last explanation. In the third, hard pressed by Job's asseveration of his innocence, Bildad asserts that God is too great to be questioned. The two hold on to the theory of Job's guilt. Their arguments are unavailing and they actually incite Job to a stronger statement of his scepticism—viz. God heaps misfortune on the just, favours the wicked, and that if He is beyond human interest and cannot be reached, he is useless to man !

When the friends have been effectively silenced, a young man, Elihu, appears, as if from nowhere, and declares that all the debators, including Job, are wrong, He asks Job the simple question: "Why is he declaring that God owes him anything for his righteousness?" All of them are non-plussed. At once God answers Job out of the whirlwind of His Majesty. God answers that his benevolence is not to be sought in the particular, but in the general, and that man, who is not the whole of creation, must not exaggerate his personal problem. It is in the contemplation of the *universe as a whole*, with its wonders and forms, that Job loses his sense of personal suffering and injustice.

With a view to make the ending understandable and satisfactory, a Prologue and an Epilogue have been added. In the Prologue, God has allowed his Adversary, Satan, to test the most rightous man he could find. In the Epilogue, the just man is rewarded, The Book of Job has come to us in two recensions—one having a happy ending and the other an unhappy ending.

25. We, in India, possess a cycle of plays having almost the same plot motif as the happy-ending play of "Job", viz. the 'Chaḍna-Kausika' of Kshemiswara, and the 'Satya-Harischandra' of Rāmachandra in Sānskrit and the, Satya-Bhāshā-Hariśchandra' in Tamil and other Indian vernaculars. These plays centre round the righteous king Hariśchandra and his Queen, Chandramati (Or Tārāmati in some versions), with the sage Viśvāmitra, like his prototype Satan Visva = mankind, Amitra = enemy-Visvamitra = enemy of Man or Satan of the Hebrew drama, attempting to make him go back upon his promise. The Sanskrit plays go back to the 12th century A. C., while the vernacular ones and their narrative poetic original 'Hariśchandrapurānam' are very much later. The earliest known stage version of the Book of Job by Theodore Beza appeared, as I have said, in A.D. 1587, and could not, therefore, have been the source of the Sanskrit plays. But the Biblical version itself, (circa 5th century B.C.), is dramatic enough in its content.

26. We, in India, do have, on the other hand, the story of Hariśchandra in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the 7th century B.C., dealing with the trials of Hariśchandra by the god Varuṇa in respect of the former's promise to sacrifice his only son Rohita. But in this version Hariśchandra does not seem to have any regard for his plighted word and attempts to put off the evil day by lame excuses and ultimately substitutes another victim, Sunasśepha, for his son Rohita.

Even though this Brāhmana version tallies with the *plot-motif* of the Biblical legend of Abraham's sacrifice of his son, Isaac, to God and the ends in both are happy, it is easy to discern the primitiveness of the Vedic version and the polished sophistication in the *dignified* characterization of the patriarch in the Bible.

It is interesting, however, to notice a tell-tale similarity of the names ABRAM or ABRAHAM and the king AMBARISHA of the Rāmāyaṇa version of the Hariśchandra-Śunasśipha episode. As the "Bālakāṇda" of the "Rāmāyaṇa" and the "Uttarakāṇda" are considered by scholarly opinion as apocryphal, they are of *no value* as chronological landmarks. But the heroine's name in some of the Indian version is 'Tāra' or 'Tārāmati', while 'Sarah' or 'Sarai' was the name of Abraham's wife. Ambareesha again means, 'The lord of the sky' i.e. the Sun or the Moon, while Hariśchandra also means Sun - Moon. (Hari = Sun, chandra = Moon). Can we not equate Abraham with Ambareeshā?

It is, therefore, impossible to resist the temptation to conclude that both the Hebrew and the Hindu cultures had much to give and take and that could not have happened without a fairly long period of mutual impacts in some common soil.

CHINA

27. China first entered the arena of international theatre in the first century before Christ, when its emperor, WU-TI of the Han dynasty was shown a shadow of his favourite concubine on the anniversary of her death and was told that it was her spirit. When the deception was discovered, the Taoist priest, who committed the fraud, was beheaded. This incident reveals the fact that the art of the shadow-play had been a novelty in China in the 1st century B.C. and that it was smuggled there from some other land. But it became popular later on and went by the name of "YING HSI".

28. But the Chinese trace the origin of their drama to the time of their emperor, MING HUANG, of the Tang Dynasty (circa A.D. 618-907). who, under an alias, is supposed to be worshipped as the God of drama and actors. It is a popular saying that if the players neglect to do homage to him, they will altogether fail in their representation.

29. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance that while the Chinese are so fond of acting and singing, the actors' *profession* is held in very great contempt. It is also one of the contradictions of Chinese social life that the representation of a play is considered a great honour to the person on whose behalf it is performed.

30. Chinese tradition reveals that one of the successors of Ming Huang defied social convention when he made an actress his chief Queen, and that one of the royal princesses eloped with an actor. These episodes prompted a later Emperor to issue an ordinance banning all theatrical activity in his domain. The ban continued till the 13th century, when the Mongol conqueror, KUBLAI KHAN, cancelled it and paved the way for the Golden Era of dramatic art in China. While the Chinese drama and playwrights were honoured and patronised, the stigma of contempt for the players continued for various reasons, including their questionable morals. It is often organised for the returning of thanks to some divinity for a good harvest or for a timely rain. A quarrel between individuals is frequently composed by the adjudication of peacemakers that one of the parties shall give a drama performance in the pleasure of which the whole community may partake.

31. The classical Chinese stage still provides the music and the polished actors, exponents of a highly conventionalised stage art, to which the public has for centuries been accustomed.

The play is seen at its best where the roof is the sky and the stage is a low platform. There is no scenery, and very little of stage furniture either. The one concession is the *curtain across the back of the stage*, which is of ancient tapestry or painted embroidered silk, and *always a thing of beauty*. But the costumes are magnificent. They are, however, traditionally those current before the 17th century. One peculiarity of the Chinese stage is that the chief character of a play represented not only the character, but the author and the chorus also.

A Chinese play lasts all day, or possibly several days. Food is brought round to the audience as well as to the actors, not to mention the inevitable hot tea. Damp towels are copiously provided for the perspiring and are thrown buoyantly from hand to hand. The same thing goes on upon the stage also. Stage-pro-

perty moves about and props adjusted, and actors swallow tea after a long speech or song, twitch garments into place, and settle the elaborate head-gear, all to the full view of the audience! One very famous Chinese actor of women's parts, in the role of a commanding general's wife, had to cope with a stage coolie. The coolie advanced weapons at the wrong moment, withdrew a tree, hung with paper blossoms, just when the lady advanced to pick them, consumed rice with visible expectoration, and finally, unfolding a Chinese newspaper, began to read it serenely with his back to the audience, while, Mei-Lang-Fang, the star of the Chinese stage, sank swooning across his ankles.

32. In Chinese drama there is no division of a play into Acts and Scenes. What cannot be inferred from the dress and the pantomimes the actors must expressly tell to the audience. For example, what they are, what they have been doing and the like The orchestra, in almost all performances, bursts in at every interval of acting to add energy to any ordinary event, and it clangs with ferocity at a battle-attack.

33. The actors of China are classified into five types. The 'Sheng', or beareded figures, correspond to the 'Thaadies' of Kerala 'Kathakali' make-up; the '*Hua-tan*', or young women's parts' correspond to the 'Minukku', heroines of Kathakali dance. The '*Lao-tan*', or elderly crones, correspond to the *Surpanaka* type of characters (Kari) of the Kerala art. The 'Ching', or painted faces, are human beings and warriors, and correspond to the 'Paccha' of the Kerala technique. The '*Cha-Ao*' or comic rules, recognizible by a white butterfly painted on the face, correspond to the 'koḍangi', or Vidūshaka, of the Indian stage.

34. Certain spiritual conventions are characteristic of the Chinese dramas. All painful sights are avoided on the stage. Death is enacted off. There is very considerable dignity and accomplished beauty of gesture, particularly in sword-play. In love-scenes, the protagonists 'by faith and faith alone' embrace. The man moves towards the woman with his arms held out, she glides gracefully past him. Kissing is not a Chinese gesture and is a recent innovation confined only to women and children.

35. There are certain conventions of production too in China. Certain implements mean certain things. A flag in a head-dress means a General. One wide and one narrow sleeve mean

that he is not dressed for fighting but is in mufti. A short stick with tassels means that the man is on horse-back, a wand with a tuft of horse-hair means that the bearer is a spirit, and a man fleeing from pursuit hides his face and is therefore supposed to be invisible. To see an accoutred warrior dismount with high leg action from an imaginary steed is memorable. A cart journey is shown by as strip of cloth slung on sticks and painted with wheels. But such is the sheer power of ancient legends and of the marvelously trained actors who expound them, that the result is enthralling.

36. This may remind the Indian scholar-critic of the famous utterance of Rabīndranāth Tagore [6] on the Indian 'Stage'. "In the Nāṭya-Śāstra there is a description of a stage, but no mention of scenes. It does not seem to me that this absence of concrete scenery can have been much of a loss ..While Dushyanta and his charioteer, standing in their respective places, are representing the very spirit of a moving chariot in their words and action, is it too much to expect the audience to realise the simple truth that, though the stage has its limits, the poem has not?... ..The hermitage of Kanva, the cloud-path on the way to heaven, the woodland retreat of the sage Mareechi—in these scenes of nature, as in the portrayal of the various characters, the poet was free upon his own creative treasure-house."

37. One peculiarity of the Chinese theatrical art was the absence of the dance element in it. The Chinese are marvelous actors—masters of gesture—but not dancers. No scholar seems to have noticed this peculiarty—at least to my knowledge. And that explains why no one had cared to analyse its causes.

38. I believe that the art of dance did not take root in China because of the peculiar Chinese custom of the artificial restriction on the growth of women's feet. Women's feet, even from their childhood, were fastened tightly with wooden shoes which were rarely changed even after the growth of the feet. This process naturally made it very difficult for women either to run or to dance, and even the gaits were affected and abnormally stilted. Even though there were acrobats and athletes among men, they too

6. *The Modern Review*, Calcutta December, 1913.

were held in contempt by the people. And the stage, which reflected the social life of the people, remained, therefore, a stranger to the art of dance.

39. In spite of this, the Chinese stage art, make-up and costuming have exerted their influence in distant countries like Kerala and Maṇipūr. The thickly-painted cardboard skirt of the Maṇipuri girl-dancer is an imitation of the old Chinese women's dress. Cultural and political contacts between Assam and China, right from the pre-Christian epoch to the present day, are too well-known to need elaboration. But China's impact on the art of the Kerala Kathakali and to some extent on the Yakshagāna of Karnātaka require some explanatory note.

40. We have stated that the Chinese opera reached its artistic zenith between the 13th and the 16th centuries after Christ. Literary history reveals that the Kerala art of Kooḍiyāṭṭam was reformed by king Kulasekhara Varman and his court-poet, Tholakavi, in about the 10th or the 11th century A.C., and continued to flourish until the advent of 'Krishṇāṭṭam', 'Rāmanāṭṭam' and 'Kathakali', which overshadowed it in the 17th century. Kūdiyāttam players had very crude make-ups and cruder costumes. The Rāmanāṭṭam and Krishṇāṭṭam actors too followed at first the older techniques of make-up, even though they innovated in their plot-treatments and story contents. Even the Kathakali make-up was crude, until the advent of the reformers—Kappilangād and Kalliḍakkoḍu of the 17th century. The remarkable similarity of the make-ups and costuming of the Chinese opera and Kathakali can-be easily perceived if we eliminate the dance elements and the fantastic demon-characters of the latter.

41. The embroidered curtain 'Yavanika', held up by stage-hands as background as well as screen, is another coincidence. But that was a common feature of all Oriental theatres from China to Cape Comorin, from Persia to Indo-China. Indian theorists refer to it as 'yavanika' in Sānskrit and 'Ezhini' in Tamil. As China had borrowed it from India in the 9th or at the latest in the 13th

century, we cannot argue that the Kathakaḷi of Kerala, which had its major inspiration from the 'Nāṭya-śāstra', borrowed the curtain from that land.[7]

42. Let me now bring in evidences of intimate contacts between the west coast seaports of India and China during the Islamic period of Indian History—(i.e. between A.D. 1000 and 1700). The most reliable and unambiguous records come from the Italian, Arabic, Syrian and Christian missionary travellers, who have left diaries and chronicles of their travels. Prominent among them were MARCO POLO, NICOLO CONTI, IBN BATUTA, ABDUL RAZAAK and VISSER. These records reveal that the Chinese marchant-princes, who owned each upto 15 "junks" (Chinese ships), were the monopolists of the sea-route between China and the West Coast of India upto Cāmbay (Gujarāt). Each of these 'Junks' could carry 1000 passengers, besides 500 to 700 mariners and Ethiopian armed guardsmen. The trade between Cambay and Europe was in the hands of Muslim Arabs and latterly of the Portugese. In the 50 to 100 cabins of the above-said

7. The term 'Yavanika' or 'Yavani' is certainly a derivative of 'Yavana', which meant 'Ionian'; and 'Ezhini' is only a Tamil variant of 'Yavani'. 'Ezhini' is referred to in that sense by Adiyarku-nallar (12th century A.D.) and not Ilango-Adigal. But as the former quotes from an older authority it can be much older in date. But Ezhini, in the Sangam anthologies refers to the rulers of the Anji clan — Adigaman and his heroic son. Unless we equate Anji chieftains with Yavanas or attribute some Yavana origin to them, we cannot reconcile both the meanings. But 'Yavani' is certainly a variety of curtain (Tiraskarini). As Tiraskarinis existed long before the advent of Yavanikas, scholarly opinion takes the material and workmanship of the Yavanika to be imitations of some textiles from Yavanadesa. Both Sanskrit and Tamil abounds with references to Kambala or carpet of intricate workmanship hailing from Egypt, Asia Minor or Persia. It is called 'Ratna-kambalam' in Tamil. Those merchants who deal in that commodity, were called Kumbala-chettys. Thus Yavanika means only an embroidered carpet of the style of Egypt or Ionia, used as a Tiraskarini. It does *not* connote a *technical stage-equipment copied from the Ionian theatre.* It is very well-known that the Greek, the Egyptian and the Hebrew theatres had no curtain at all to be copied by others. Even the Tamil word 'Thirai' or 'Thirai-seelai' (curtain) is only a condensed form of the Sanskrit Thiraskarini. It is, therefore, all the more probable that 'Ezhini' is a derivative of 'Yavani' and not the other way.

junks, the merchant-princes and their agents transported, not only costly merchandise, but also hundreds of beautiful slave-girls, actors, musicians and artisans. Ibn Batuta writes:— "These agents lived on board like great Amirs. When they went on ashore, they were preceded by archers and Abyssinians with javelins, swords, drums, trumpets and bugles. On reaching the house where they stayed, they stood their lances on both sides of the house and continued to do so during their stay.......... There is no people in the world wealthier than the Chinese."

43. From Ibn Batuta and other chroniclers we are able to gather that there were also colonies of Chinese people in Quilon, Calicut and Gujarāt. These colonies continued to exist upto as late as the end of the 19th century. It has been remarked by students of anthropology and cultural history that wherever the Chinese settled in considerable numbers, they celebrated their national festivals with concerts, operas, processions and pageants. In the western cities of California and New York, where there are Chinese quarters, the Chinese even now retain the above-mentioned racial traits.

44. Is it, therefore, too far-fetched to assume that the reformers of Kathakali make-up and costuming had cultural impacts with the Chinese colonists of Quilon? It is to be remembered that the Koṭṭārakara principality, the home of the Kathakali or Rāmanāṭṭam art, is only 16 miles east of Quilon.

There is even now a bazaar in Quilon, called 'Chinnakkaḍa' (small-bazaar), which is not small. And 'Chinna', meaning 'small' is Tamil and not Malayālam. We have to surmise, therefore, that this business quarter had once been the 'China-bazaar' of old Quilon corrupted into 'Chinna-bazaar' by moderners, because there had not been seen even one Chinaman in Quilon since the beginning of this century. A new broader road came into existence about fifty years ago and it was named 'Valiya kaḍa' (big bazaar) to distinguish it from the older 'small bazaar'. We need not be surprised if the China bazaar of Madras (now named 'Subash Chandra Bose Road) gets itself re-named a few years hence as 'Jaina Bazaar Road' due to the numerical strength of Mārwāri firms in that locality!

VI. PERSIA

45. I am deliberately bypassing Persian cultural contacts with India for two reasons :—viz. 1. That there is little recorded evidence of that country having ever had a theatre or dramatic literature and 2. that my colleague Mr. P. Murugayyan has agreed to deal with that problem in his paper. Nevertheless, I put before you certain facts and problems that need deeper research and analysis.

46. In his Behistūn and other inscriptions, Darius the Great has stated that he had instituted a national festival to celebrate his victory over the Pretender Smerdis (not the real Smerdis, Tanyoxares, who was the second son of Cyrus the Great and who had been secretly murdered by his own elder brother, Cambyses, some years before, who was a Magi priest. The loyal Magi citizens were warned in that epigraph not to stir out of their houses during the celebrations, because of the possibility of molestation from the revellers. Herodotus also refers to the festivities, where Magians were satirised and caricatured. By reading between the lines, we can infer that these celebrations included theatrical satrisations too. This must be considered in the context of contemporary cultural settings—viz. Darius I was a contemporary of Thespis of Greece and of the Hebrew authors of the "Book of Job" and "Song of Solomon".

47. My other suggestion is that Guṇāḍhya, the author of the Paiśāchi "Brihatkatha" must have been indebted to the old Persian legends for his story-contents. Firdausi, the author of 'Shah Nameh' seems also to have drawn his material from the same source. I have detected parallel episodes in both the narratives. The birth and boyhood of Udayana of the Brihatkatha tallies with those of Zal of the "Shah Nameh". The adventures of Rustom and Naravāhanadatta are also similar in many respects. As, according to the "Kathāsaritsāgara" tradition, Guṇāḍhya had to go out as an exile from his motherland, and as he had no other go but to write in a foreign language, I surmise that the land of his exile was Afghanistan or Baktria and that the so-called Paiśāchi language was none else than the 'Pāshaai', the tribal tongue of one of the mountainous districts of the Persia of that epoch. As the art of drama had fully developed in that region during the same epoch (2nd century B.C. and 1st century A.D.)

and as the 'Brihatkatha' itself had become, in later times, the fountainhead of scores of dramas, I beg to pose the proposition thus:—"Guṇāḍhya did not read any poem or story in the Persian language, but saw theatrical presentations of the legends in the crude tribal dialect of Pāshaai".

VII. TIBET

48. The name of the Tibetan Shakespeare is TSONGS-BDYAGS-RGYAM-TMSO, the sixth Dalai Lama of the 6th or 7th century A.C. He is described by modern Tibetan scholars as a "delicate poet in love with the arts and with beauty in all its forms, the feminine especially." He was also the author of some highly seasonal erotic poems, even though he happened to be an ascetic Lama.

His plays as well as those of his colleagues are indebted to the Hindu theatre. The romances and mysteries, which flowered abundantly in India at that period, have their parallels in number of religious plays in Tibet.

49. Played only at set times near the monasteries by the monks, with the support of lay professionals, who assumed female roles, the dramas were highly formal in content and production. The narrative portions were extensive and were assigned to a Brahmin, when the topic was Indian. and to a special actor, called "Hunter", when the subjects were Tibetan. The "Hunters" also comprised the chorus, which supplied the accompanying ballet. The chorus used a variety of masks, suggestive of pre-Buddhistic totemism and animism. Both the narrative, which was in prose, and the dialogue, which was in verse, were danced and sung, a slower tempo being reserved for the Royal character, whose sentences were enthusiastically picked up on the last word by the whole court. As there was much improvisation and, since parts of them were being acted out instead of being spoken, it was found futile to do full justice to the quality of the plays by any sort of recording or publication. But the plots were colourful and romantic.

50. Prof. B. Vladimiroso of Prague has stated that Tibet had possessed miming dances and comic acts even earlier than 9th century A.C. ("Vostok", 1921). In the course of time these mute performances were enriched with dialogue until a form emerged which could be called a comic opera, with texts in prose and verse, spoken

and sung, with or without musical instruments. With this change of form, there came a change of content too. When the teachings of the Buddha penetrated into Tibet in the 7th or the 8th century, popular non-Buddhistic subjects were forced to give way to Buddhist themes. The terrible gods of the Buddhist pantheon appeared, the defenders of the faith contending with unbelievers; legends of important events in the history of Buddhism also were performed on the stage. It is in this reformed version that the miming dances, called 'Ch' am' in Tibetan, have come down to us.

At the end of the Tibetan year, in the lamaist Holy Week known as ''Monlam Ch' enpo', the performances took place in the spacious courtyard of the monasteries, filled with crowds of curious on-lookers. The actors were the lamas themselves, among whose privileges and duties is that of assuming once a year the bright ceremonial robes and the mysterious masks to perform the mystic dances. When the monastery resounded with the terrible notes of the gongs and other strange instruments a procession of masked figures emerged from all the holes and corners and moved with a whirling step. The dancers wore gaily-coloured glittering robes of the richest silk and brocade, adrned with wonderful ornaments of gold and silver. Their masks were works of art, with the power to strike terror, bulging eyes, sometimes as many as three, enormous teeth, faces that were half-man-half-beast and bodies decked with garlands of human skulls. The action of the pantomime, however, was monotonous. In almost every case, the following three dances were performed,—viz. The Dance of the Lord of Death ; the Dance of the Guardians of the Tomb and the Dance of the Black Caps.

The Lord of Death ("SHINJI" in Tibetan) appeared in the terrifying form of a man with the head of a bull, brandishing terrifying objects, intended to bring the idea of death to the onlookers. The dark blue robe formed an excellent foil for gleaming embroideries and gilded ornaments. The dance steps were, however, simple strides and whirls, expressing the diabolical character of the "SHINJI".

The Guardians of the Tombs were human skeletons performing whirling dances with leaps and bounds, symbolising theis efforts to drive away the animal-masked figures from the dummy of a human corpse lying on the ground.

The Dance of the Black Caps ("SHANAG") usually brought the performance to a close. It was a representation of a historical event, well-known to the audience. At the beginning of the 9th century, there reigned in Tibet a king, LANGDARMA, notorious for his destruction of Buddhist temples and monasteries and forced employment of monks as butchers. He compelled people to go back to the worship of the older native gods and demons. The Buddhists, thereupon, decided to get rid of him by force and strategem. The deed was undertaken by a monk, PA DORDJE, who dressed up in the black costume of a non-Buddhist monk, performed an exciting dance before the king. When he came close enough to the ruler, he pulled out a dagger and killed him. Leaping immediately on to a blackened horse, he fled from the pursuing soldiery. Fording a nearby river, he emerged on what became now a white horse. He cast away his black robes too and was thus saved.

This play lasts several hours. The spectators have learnt that the Buddhist faith was always victorious. Perhaps that was the only purpose of those Tibetan 'Ch' am' plays.

VIII. JAPAN

51. In Ancient Japan there were two kinds of dances—the 'Saru-Gaku' or monkey music, consisting of juggling feats and comic remarks with actions to suit, of Yamato Province, and 'Den-Gaku', or rice-field music, which was a sort of primitive fertility ritual. These were revolutionised by Kannami Kiyotsugu and his son in the fifteenth century, and what is now known as '*Noh-Gaku*' or *Noh Drama* resulted. These two geniuses, under the encouraging patronage of the Shojur Yoshimasa, built on what was ennobling and best in both and evolved a composite art-form.

52. The 'No-Gaku' constituted the principal form of entertainment among the aristocratic and warrior classes in feudal Japan. It was sometimes given in the presence of the Emperor, and there prevailed a custom for a time to invite the common people to the performances, given in commemoration of some happy event by the Tokugama Shogana, who used the 'Noh' on all ceremonial occasions.

53. *Staging*: The 'Noh' is performed on a wooden stage, built above the ground, the regular size of which is eighteen feet square, open on three sides with a narrow extension on one side for the singers, and another on the back of the stage for the musicians and attendants. To that rear extension is attached a slant passage, called 'Hashigakari' or the bridge. The players appear from under the curtain, at one end of which the passage slightly slopes down. The stage too is very slightly tilted to the front. For accoustic purposes big ceramic jars are placed, generally seven, under the stage, and two or more under the passage according to its length[8]. Screw-pine saplings are planted at intervals along the front of the bridge. The wooden wall, called 'Kagami-Ita' or the mirror-board, on the back of the rear extension, forming a back-ground to the stage, is always decorated with a painting of a pine-tree, and the narrow panel joining it on the side with that of the bamboo. These paintings, together with the saplings, may be taken to indicate that originally the 'Noh' was performed in the woods or in the burial ground.[9]

54. *The Preliminaries ('Okina').* Long before the players begin to arrive, heavy scattered drum beats echo through the vacant space. This is a reminder of the old days when the drummer stationed in the yagur or the drum-tower, beat his tattoo to announce the opening of 'Shibai', or the Japanese puppet-play, to hasten the people on their way. As the time draws near, a flute begins to shrill and the light staccato beats of a 'Noh'-drum. The drummers cease their clamour abruptly as the stage-carpenters hammer, while the call of the stage-hands is heard——an indescribable din, hubbub of voices, the clatter of tea-cups, the twang of the 'Sameisen', the thunder of big drums, the cries of the vendors selling hot tea, rice-cakes and oranges, and the metallic click-clack of the 'Hayshigi', or wooden clappers, that signal the beginning or end of the curtain.

55. The whole programme opens with a dance-piece, called 'Okina', which is held in special reverence by the person acting the chief character, "A star-actor without make-up slowly enters the stage; from a black-and-gold lacquer box .. he removes the bear-

8. *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Primitive Races* by Ridgeway.
9. *Ibid.*

ded wooden mask of a face withered with age. This represents "Okina", a symbol of long life. The actor ties the mask to his face and intones strange, rune-like words, which were originally in a corrupt form of Sanskrit, that had reached Japan via Tibet, but are now incomprehensible. At the same time he dances a slow and dignified series of movements, carrying in one hand a fan. The musical accompaniment is provided by two drums and a flute". ("Japanese Theatre" by Faubion Bowers, p. 16).

56. *Construction of the 'Noh' piece:* The construction of the 'Noh' piece, though by no means uniform, is generally as follows. A 'Waki' or a secondary character, who is generally a monk or a minister of State, appears first and tells who he is. He, then, walks awhile singing, suggesting that he is travelling. Coming to a standstill, he announces his arrival at a famous spot to the audience and takes his place by the post at the front right-hand corner facing the stage. Then the principal character, in the first appearance, enters in the disguise of a farmer or fisherman or priest describing the scenery of the place. The 'Waki' questions him and he replies giving an historic account of that locality and of the neroes connected with it and relates the origin of the local shrine or temple, thus furnishing the audience with the necessary back-ground to the play. He then disappears abruptly and the 'Waki' is startled. He was in reality no other than a shinto or Buddhist deity or a ghost of a warrior in disguise. There come to the stage then common wood-choppers and give, in spoken dialect, all detailed information concerning the place, reiterating what has already been given in dance and then retire. This allows a necessary time for the chief character to change for re-appearance. While waiting, the Waki sings, indicating a lapse of time. When it comes to an end, the 'Nochi-Jite', or the chief character, in an appropriate attire as a shinto or a Buddhist deity or as the spirit of a hero, comes to the stage and dances as if in a night-stroll, revealing some spiritual attributes. In words and in action he recounts his bravery, his death-struggle, or his suffering in the under-world, asking for the prayer of the Waki for the peaceful repose of his soul. He tells his story as he performs or he merely dances the same without any intonation by himself. Generally there is a chorus who intonate either alone or with the performers.

57. These 'Noh'-dances deal more with ghosts than with living men of flesh and blood and often with embodied passions. Each

play, presenting some primary human feeling, depicts the results of action done in earthly life upon the spirit after death and solves questions of right livelihood here on earth. The ghost psychology is amazing, and parallels with modern spiritist doctrines are very curious.

58. For each programme of a 'Noh' performance, which generally lasts a whole day, one from each of the following five types of pieces is given, with 'Ryogen', or a comic interlude, between each two, and also a dance in an ordinary dress in addition.—

1. 'Waki-waki-Noh', in which the Waki assumes preponderance in the play, dealing with Shinto or Buddhist deities.
2. 'Shuro-Me-Noh', which commonly deals with ghosts or warriors.
3. 'Kazuru-Me-Noh' with noble ladies as main characters[9a].
4. 'Genzai-Me-Noh', dealing with love, insanity and other manifestations of human nature.
5. Pieces dealing with demons or goblins or those of a congratulatory nature with gay and joyous elements.

59. *Music and Accessories*: Several persons sit on the side extension and sing either in chorus by themselves or together with the dancers. It exactly resembles the Indian 'Pakka-Paaṭṭu' and the 'Sāhitya Geetham' of the classical stage. The Musicians on the rear extension consist ordinarily of a player each on the transverse flute, a small drum, struck with tips of finger over the shoulder the 'okawa' or a larger drum stuck on to the knee and played with tips of fingers, and a drum beaten with two sticks.

60. The accessories used on the stage are very simple. The masks worn by the principal character and his assistant are very

9-a. Dr. Tanaka, of the Indo-Japanese Cultural Centre of Tokyo, who had been on a visit to India in 1964, informed me during an interview at this Institute that the Indian Ramayana version of the life-history of the sage Risyasringa was a favourite theme on the Japanese stage. But I forgot to ascertain whether it was so on the 'Noh' stage or on the 'Kabuki'.

important in a 'Noh' peformance. There have been great masters among carvers of masks in feudal Japan whose works still remain. The 'Noh' costumes are marvels of textile fabric, refined taste being revealed in bold yet harmonious designs and colours.

61. *The Rythm of the 'Noh'.* The Japanese recognize in their Noh two principles of rythm.—a positive and a negative, or a masculine and a feminine.—which they call 'yo' and 'yin', seven beats and five respectively. In the poetry of their plays, there are alternate lines of seven and five syllables and they work these twelve syllables against other rythmical units. The actor chants and dances his seven and five syllables, while the big drum taps seven beats and the little drum five. When the dance reaches its climax, another drum too comes in while the flute follows the chorus with the twelve beats. The motion of the play determines their speed and character. Every sound contributes towards the building of an emotional vibration and that is why a spectator, who does not understand the language, is nevertheless literally overwhelmed by the power of the emotion generated.

Comment on the similarity of the above and the South Indian Bharata Nātyam orchestra and Kathakali chorus is superfluous.

62. *Main Schools:* Ever since the great reformation at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the 'Noh' has had several main acknowledged schools, all of which are still extent. The credit for the preservation of the 'Umekawa' school, which has many followers, goes to one Umekawa-Minoru, who, living in a poor house in a poor street and in a kitchen, selling his clothes to buy masks and costumes from the sales of bankrupt companies and using 'Kaiyu' for rice, made the Noh the flower of Japanese dramatic art. The 'Kita' school also has won great recognition. The variation upheld by each school is but slight.

63. *Conclusion:* On the whole, the 'Noh' performance may be compared to a masterful oriental picture in monochrome or black, being got by highly idealistic aims and aspirations and dossessing great impelling qualities that thrill the devotee and weary the un-initiated.

"It is a stage where every subsidiary art is bent precisely upon holding the faintest shade of difference, where the poet may even

be silent when the gestures, consecrated by four centuries of usage, show meaning."[10]

The Kabuki :[10a] The Classical Kabuki theatre of Japan keeps to some extent in touch with present-day trends. An increasing proportion of modern realistic elements is apparently being incorporated in its presentation, which, though as highly stylized as the 'Noh', is more versatile and colourful, and whose large accompanying groups of singers and instrumentalists, changes of scenery and troups of dancers give it some resemblance to a revue, in addition to its large repertory of classical pieces, from many of which only selected scenes are now performed. New plays, which depart to some extent from the traditional 'Kabuki' style, are beginning to appear on the wide stage, where the players make their entrance by walking down *a platform*, that runs through the auditorium, called 'Hanamichi'.

Both in the 'Noh' and the 'Kabuki', women's parts are still played, as they always have been, by men. The scenery is changed before the eyes of the audience, and the props are brought and removed by a set of stage-hands, called 'Kurogo', dressed in black—and sometimes with black clothes over their faces—to indicate that they have nothing to do with the plot. Skilful and eccentric make-up is used here instead of the actual 'Noh' masks. It is the part played by the music in the drama and dance that naturally interests the foreign spectator more particularly.

Solo and choral singing in conjunction with a wide variety of instrumental music—ranging from solo instruments to large orchestra, sometimes even divided into two groups.—are employed in the most versatile manner. In the vocal passages the tense atmosphere is heightened by the peculiarly stylized strained method of singing in high-pitched voices. And in the instrumental sector, the numerous types of drums, with only a single flute to provide

10. 'Noh', or Accomplishment—A study of the Classical Stage of Japan" by Ernest Femullosa (Macmillan & Co., London).

10-a. (Extracted from the English translation of article of "Neue Zuricher Zeitung", which appeared in No: 21. July, 1961, of "Cultural News from Asia", New Delhi.).

contrast, play a corresponding part in enhancing the character and atmosphere of the drama.

The chorus and the musicians of 'Kabuki' sometimes use scores, which they spread out in front of them on the floor of the stage. In the concluding scenes of one of the plays about a courtesan, abounding in comic situations, an amazingly impressive use is made of the transition from speech to eloquent, melodic, final cadences.

The 'Kabuki' performances used formerly to go on for five or six hours or even longer, but are now cut down to 'European' length. A great part of the audience is still composed of 'Fans', who will greet the actor, who renders a phrase with special eloquence or makes an unusually elegant or expressive gesture, with lusty cheers. The performances take place not only in the evening, but all day long.

IX. SOUTH EAST ASIA — GENERAL

64. "No one knows how many theatre troupes are playing in this region. There are so many troupes, no one has even tried to count them all, but my own estimate is that there are more than a thousand professional troupes operating today...Three out of four of the 200 million persons living (in South East Asia) see these troupes perform every year.

"The variety of theatre is almost staggering. There are shadow-plays in Java, dramatic folk-rituals in Bali, masked pantomimes in Thailand, spirit-dances in Burma, folksong dramas in Laos, classical Chinese-derived operas in Vietnam, puppet-plays in Sunda and the Royal Ballet in Cambodia, to name but eight of the 25 major theatre-forms, which are performed today. Performances are given in spacious palaces before Royalty, on squares of packed earth before crowds of illiterate villagers, in new air-conditioned theatres built of concrete and steel, as well as on small, temporary and very rickety bamboo-frame stages, floored with rough planking, at Buddhist fairs in Laos, at temple festivals in Bali, for Moslem circumcision ceremonies in Java, as Christian pageants in the Philippines and as offerings to animistic spirits in Thailand......One can see on stage Hindu gods, Islamic saints, Chinese generals, European Soldiers and local communist mass heroes!......You can

hear the whine of a Chinese fiddle, the boom of a Javanese gong, and the thud of drums of every nationality and race...

"Kingdoms have risen, have conquered their neighbours, and have imposed their culture and theatre-forms on the conquered; they, in turn, have been conquered by their neighbours, who have imposed on them their culture and theatre-forms. Some parts of S. E. Asia have changed hands eight or ten times during the period of recorded history. For all these reasons, theatre-forms throughout S. E. Asia tend to share, to a greater or lesser degree, certain common characteristics." ("South-East Asian Theatre" by James Grandon, New York.)

X. THAILAND (Siam) and CAMBODIA

65. The Siamese are a music-loving, play-going people. Their play is called LAKHON, which is a Siamese derivative of the Malay word, LIGOR. It is done at any Buddhist temple-yard, *with practically no stage-setting nor scenery*, and everything left to imagination. Back of a raised platform, which is but an oblong dais, is the dessing-room, where the performers could be seen changing their costumes. In front of the same is the orchestra. The principal actors have their faces so heavily powdered that one might think that they were wearing masks.

66. The episodes they enact and dance are invariably taken from the 'Rāmāyaṇa'. These mythological dances are sometimes used to exorcise evil spirits and, in such a case, the ritualistic character of the performance is emphasised. Dances of love, triumph, defiance etc. are characteristic, but they have also a peculiar variety of ballad, representing an array of armies, flight of apsarases, and wanderings of princesses accompanied by their maids of honour.

67. The one special and remarkable feature of Siamese Dance-drama is that all roles, except those of the clowns, are taken by women. They wear masks only when they appear as divinities, demons or monkeys. They skip and jump, writhe and sway their bodies and advance and retire with a graceful snake-like motion, as the dancing girls of South Indian "Bharata-Nāṭya". There is a considerable amount of dialogue, which the actresses deliver with

infinite gesture of hands. "They express their emotions, not with face, but with the movements of hands, which seem to have no joints. They bend their elbows the wrong way and turn their hands to touch the wrists. Each movement, however, has a certain meaning and is indicative of certain ideas and emotions."[11]

68. Episodes from the Mahābhārata are also chosen for representation. In fact, the story of Aniruddha, the grand-son of Sree-Krishna, is asserted as one of the most finished of Siamese dance-compositions.

69. There exist also an ancient masked play in Siam, called *Khon*, always representing Rāmāyana themes, wherein all the parts are taken by men. Sometimes a special form of play known as 'Lakhon Nora' or 'Lakhon Chatri', played entirely by men, is also performed, wherein the theme is the miraculous legend, recalling the origin of dance-drama related at length in the Indian Bhārateeya-Nāṭya-Śāstra.[12]

70. The theatre of Cambodia was precariously protected till the Japanese occupation in 1940 by the patronage of the Court at Phnon Pen, and a local troupe at Siem Reap presented the legends of Prince Praya Samuth and of Prince Chey Cheth for the benefit of foreign travellers and visitors to the world-famous monumental temples of Angkor, and Bakon.[13]

BURMA

71. The Burmans seem to possess no independent dance traditions of their own, apart from the 'Thitshahta' or the betrothal scene, of their popular stage, called 'Zat'. It is more or less divided into three or more scenes. Each scene is about an hour's duration and the longest which comes in the middle, is called 'Thitsahta'. Here the Burmans enjoy a variety of songs and dances presented by the hero and the heroine of the play.

11. Dr. Sudhindra Bose in *The Modern Review* of Calcutta.
12. *History of Indian & Indonesian Art* by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.
13. *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* by B. R. Chatterjee, Calcutta

72. The Burmese players choose their themes from their folk-lore, mythology and religious literature. The hero may be any person of high moral worth, be he king or priest or peasant. Whatever be his status in the story, the Burmese actors and actresses are compelled, by a curious convention, to appear in the above-mentioned 'Betrothal scene' *picturesquely attired* as 'princes' and 'princesses'. They sing and dance to each other, each trying to out-do the other. But this scene has nothing to do with the main action of the play. They address each other, not by the names of the dramatis personae, but by stage-names as they are known to the public. The songs too have no connection with the action of the play. 'The Prince' usually begins with one of the oldest ballads liked by all music-loving Burmans, and gradually comes down to the latest topical dances and song-hits. The ballad is called 'Yodaya' or the Siamese Tune. The Burmese learnt it from the Siamese prisoners of war in 1557 A.D., during the reign of King Bureng Noung of Hanthawadi.

73. The betrothal scene usually lasts about two hours. The 'Prince' expresses implicit trust in and vows fidelity to 'The Princess', who in her turn re-iterates her suspicions about him. If the audience like to have a quarrel scene, the dancers act in accordance with their wishes. The clowns take their respective sides, one with the Prince and the other with the Princess. Each clown begins to show the favours he has received from master or mistress as the case may be, and one envies the other and works himself into greater favour. Tutored by her clown, the Princess refuses to proceed any further due to fatigue in such a forest abounding with thorns, wild-beasts and what not. The clown advises her not to move even an inch until the Prince offers to carry her throughout the journey. This the Prince will not do, being supported by his own clown, who argues that all women are artful. There begins the quarrel and the audience is amused with fitting songs and dances. The gestures indicating wrath are extremely clever. When it is time to close the scene, one of the clowns announces the fact with a clever innuendo, reminding them that it is past midnight and that they must go on with the main story! This, in short, is the modus-operandi of all 'betrothal' scenes of the Burmese 'Zat'[14]

14. *The Burmese Drama* by Sava Thein Gyi in *The Journal of Burma Research Society*, Vol. XXIII. Part 3.

74. The influence of the South Indian Comic street dramas and 'Pakal-Veshak-Kaaran' farces on the Burmese popular stage is patent. Nineteenth century colonists of Burma were mostly coolies and scavengers from South India.

XII. JAVA and BALI.

75. The Javanese 'Wayang Orang', the dance-drama with human actors, is but an eighteenth century creation of aristocratic origin. But, as the themes are invariably drawn from its older counter-part, the Shadow-play (Wayang), the noble costumes, absence of scenery and traditional gestures lend to the dance an air of antiquity. And this antiquity, if not historically true, is certainly psychologically true. The Javanese theatre presents an emotionally convincing picture of a heroic and romantic past.

76. When we speak of the Javanese 'Wayang', we include, of course, the Balinese dance-form also. There is a tradition that the island of Bali had been a part of Java, but became detached in 202 A.D. due to a seismic upheaval. Till the beginning of the tenth century, it was an independent kingdom, but subsequently became part of the Great Javanese Empire. Nevertheless, after the advent of Islam in the fifteenth century in Java, all princes. scholars, priests and artistes fled with all their valuable treasures and culture to the island of Bali, where they survive to this day. That is why the island is now a repository of all Indo-Javanese and Indonesian ancient culture.[16].

77. The '*Wayang Orang*' or the 'Wayang Wong' is a type of histrionic representation by living actors of episodes from the Javanese versions of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, or from the local 'Pañji' cycle of legendary stories. The ancient Javanese literature is practically Indo-Javanese in character and contents. Several hundreds of Hindu epic and purāṇic stories have been recast into a sort of mani-pravālam kāvya, called 'Kakawin', which is a prabandha in Javanese language, with Sānskrit verses and vocabulary interspersed. They have also a cycle of stories woven round

15. *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* by Sylvain Levi, Gaikawad's Oriental Series No. 68, in its introductory chapter

a legendary hero of theirs, 'Panji' by name, just as the Indian Vikramāditya and Udayana. And this cycle is called the Panji cycle.[16]

78. The Wayang-wong dancers usually take for their theme some episode out of the 'Brata-Yuddha', which is the Javanese adaptation of the Indian 'Mahābhārata'.[16a] The more delicate and divine type of dancing is allotted to the Pāṇḍavas, each of whom has his own style of dance. For instance, Arjuna dances differently from Bhima. The Kaurava dance is always aggressive and wild, while the 'Dānava' dancing is savage and always attacking. Accompanying Arjuna are three figures—clowns, who represent the powers of good, who help him to gain victory over his enemies.

79. The art of dancing Brāta-Yuddha is practised only by the young nobles and is called Berso. Three-year strenuous training is necessary to master the canons of this art. Most of the princes and princesses of Java and Bali are perfect dancers.

80. Permanent troupes of actors were supported, before the advent of the new Republic of Indonesia, even by Muslim Sultans. The Jogyakarta and Surakarta courts were the chief patrons of the art, and it was by no means unknown for some member of the Muslim Royal family to play. On great occasions, hundreds of actors and dancers were trained for months in advance and no expense was spared.

81. The dances of women are called 'Nayubon' and these are for the common people. But the 'Srimpi', which is also a dance of women, is danced only by the little princesses of the Kraton Palace. It is the symbolical dance of the nine gopis before Sri Krishna and may only be given when the King is present. The little princesses must have no other one in thought during the dance than only the king who represented Sri Krishna.

82. The Javanese dance-drama embodies spiritual and cultural values of deep significance. It is from the standpoint of art, a most

16. 'Indo-Javanese Literature' by R. C. Muzumdar, in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1, July 1934.

16-a. *Brata-Yuddha* may mean either the Bhārata-Yuddha (Mahābhārata war) or Bhrata-Yuddha (fratricidal war of the Mahabharta heroes).

beautiful expression of the human soul in rythmic motion. There is not in the whole world any other race, except perhaps the Japanese and the Hindus of India, who are capable of expressing themselves so beautifully in the dance as the Javanese. These aristocratic dancers have unimaginable grace. Artistic souls, who feel for line and colour, will be delighted with the fine distinguished movements of the artistes whose power of imagination puts them in another world.

83. You may recollect my reference to the absence of the *dance element* in the Chinese theatre. Now, I wish to point out the absence of *Legitimate Drama* in South-East Asia, prior to the early decades of this century. 'Ketropek', the modern Javanese drama type, is only less than forty years old and, therefore, out of the scope of this survey. While the whole region abounds in all varieties of dance-dramas, puppet-plays, shadow-plays and solo and duet dances, besides trance-dances, there exists not even one text of any prose or verse drama on the model of the *classical* Sānskrit drama. In spite of such intimate contacts with India for more than eighteen centuries, S. E. Asia seems to have ignored the dramatic techniques of Kāḷidāsa. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Sūdraka, Aśvaghosha, Śri Harsha and other master-playwrights of ancient India. Even the dramaturgic sections of the 'Nāṭyaśāstra' of Bharatamuni and other theatrical treatises seem to have been either overlooked or deliberately byepassed. *Why?*

84. The answer to this query lies in India itself. Although we have many regular Sānskrit drāmas hailing from South Indian playwrights of the ancient and medieval periods, neither Tamil, nor Malayālam, nor Kannaḍa, nor Telugu could boast of having possessed even a single drama of the classical Sanskrit type. Why? The South Indian cultural individuality did not care to copy Sanskrit models. It evolved its own types like the Āṭṭakkatha, the Yakshagāna, the Kūravañji, the Bhāgavata Meḷa, and the Kūchipuḍi. with the dance-element preponderating over verse and music, but the spoken prose almost absent. This was because, as I have stated at the outset of this essay, that the pre-Aryan immigrants to India and their predecessors in its soil had already been in possession of a rich heritage of pure dance-types and perhaps even of treatises on their techniques, and that the Aryan settlers, who were adepts in narrative epic legends and philosophical myths, evolved, as a result of their

contacts, the new integrated composite techniques, which we now see incorporated in the 'Bhārateeya Nāṭyaśāstra'. But as South India continued for several centuries to be the least influenced region within the Indian sub-continent by the Aryan impact, its theatrical art was more dance-centred than literary.

85. I have already pointed out elsewhere that though the greater bulk of Indian settlers in South East Asia were non-Tamilians, who spoke north Indian dialects, the South Indian elements seem to have been more intellectual, aesthetic, spiritual and assertive and therefore responsible for shaping the aesthetic culture of their land of adoption. While the lingua franca and language of literature was 'kawi', an amalgam of Sanskrit and old Javanese, the contents and themes were oriented to South Indian culture. The South Indian Agastya, Pathini, Harihara, Kumāra and Ganapati, besides the All-India Śivaliṅga and Vishṇu, were the chief objects of worship. Kerala matriarchy was the form of social set-up and inheritance law. Their kings' names ended in Varman as among the South Indian Cheras, Kaḍambas and Pallavas.

86. It is, therefore, quite natural for the South-East Asian peoples to adopt the South Indian models of theatrical art and ignore Sanskirt models. It is even doubtful if S. E. Asia had ever had any opportunity to witness a Sanskrit dramatic performance. The only South Indians in the mother-country, who enacted Sanskirt plays, were the Chākkyārs of Kerala and they were so conservative and seclusive that they did not allow even their own native low-caste folk to witness their Sanskirt 'Kūḍiāṭṭam', performed within the temple premises. How, then, could the overseas S. East Asians have any opportunity to see a Sanskrit play?

XIII. POLYNESIA

87. The first settlers in the Polynesian islands were astroloid Negritos. But, in the fifth century A. D. and thereafter, a stream of colonists from Peru seems to have contacted them and introduced into the islands the South American sweet potato[17]. But not till

17. 'Despatches to the North American Newspaper Alliance' by Thor Heyrdanl of Scandinavia, reprinted in the 'Readers Digest' of November, 1947.

the Indian colonists, who enriched the East Indian Islands with their culture, spread out to the Pacific Islands in the twelfth century could the Fijians and the Maoris acquire, indirectly through their neighbouring islanders, some idea of ritual histrionics. Polynesian scholars have come to the conclusion that most of the Polynesian cultural origins lie somewhere on the banks of the Ganges,[18] as Percy Smith held. E. Best identified Aria-Te-Varingi-Nui, the land of their fore-fathers, as the Maoris mention their original home, as Irihia or India. Dr. E. S. C. Handy[19] points out how the old Polynesians resembled the Vedic worshippers and their Hindu descendents. The Maoris had an elaborate system of teaching of 'Karakias', recited with special training and importance attaching to accentuation for their effectiveness, as in the case of the Vedic Hymns.[20] "Fornander P. Smith and Tregar derive the Polynesian speech from Sanskrit. It is not difficult to see Indian similarity in their creation-hymns, customs and gods. Mackenzie sees Brahma, Siva and Indra in Polynesia. Most authorities on *Polynesia accept* that through the East Indies, it is some Indian peoples that dared the long Pacific waters and colonised the far-flung isles of Polynesia."[21]

88. The Fiji islanders have an ancient dance, which they call 'Maki-Maki' and exhibit before foreign guests. Other islanders too have similar ritualistic amusements having a common origin. In Tahiti, Raratonga and Samoa the natives had various totemistic cults. They worshipped their deities at a sacred place called Marae. It was the ambition of every would-be-mother to bring forth a son, who should either be a prince of thieves or the best of warriors. And to this end every pregnant woman prayed before their 'Marae' to be blessed with such an offspring. The gods were then propitiated with dances such as the 'Maki-Maki.'

Torches made of palm-branches will throw a lurid light over the savage scene. On a strip of grass in front of the huts will gather

18. Percy Smith in *Hawaiki*, Christ Church, 1910.
19. Dr. E. S. C. Handy in *Polynesian Religion*, Page 317, Honolulu, 1927.
20. Percy Smith, in *Hawaiki*.
21. Dr. V. Raghavan in a broadcast talk on 'Polynesia' in the Madras A.I.R. on 12-10-1941.

the dancers, and close around will group picturesquely the natives officiating as critics, but prepared in their turn to take part in the wild revelry. Here is a description of the dance given by an unsympathetic European eyewitness.[22] The reader will be recollecting at every point the general similarity of the Fijian dances to the various kinds of Tamil and Keraḷa 'Koothus'.

"Glorious Rembrant-effects, as the torches' flames leapt up, fell, in the still night-air, bathing with ruddy glow that strange scene, around on the foliage above, and flushing redly up the white trunks of the coconut palms. Round a standing group of tawny-hued boys and girls, who formed the band, some two dozen men, dressed in a fantastic manner, their faces blackened and skins shining with coconut-oil, were dancing. Wound round their waists, they wore great rolls of white cloth, falling nearly to the knees, and, over these, belts fringed with long narrow streamers of brightly-coloured stuff—red, yellow & white—surging and hustling with every movement. On their heads, were turbans of finely beaten tappa (a variety of flax used as textile material), transparent and gauzy, piled high in a peak. Gaiters of long black sea-weed or grass, strung with white beads, anklets and armlets of large bore-rings and of beads worked in patterns, tortoise-shell bracelets and beadnecklaces, from which hung in front one great curled boar's tusk.Some are dressed better than others, but all in the same wild style."

89. "Moving slowly in a circle and the band, whose clapping and rollicking style they accompanied by a loud droning kind of chant, at the end of each stave, chiming in with a simulataneous shout, a sudden swaying of the body, a loud hollow clap of the hands, once or twice repeated, a heavy stamp of the feet, a moment's halt and silence, broken plaintively by one of the singers, quickly taken up by the remainder to a clapping, rattling, vowelly measure, and again circling slowly round, swinging their arms and bodies; clapping, shouting, droning in faultless time together."

Being a lay, non-musical European, the above eye-witness could not have any faintest idea of a typical 'Vela-Kali' dance of

22. *Curiosities of Supersitition*, by W. H. Devonport Adams, J. Masters & Co., London.

the Trivandrum temple, which resembles the above in many respects.

> "Their drilling was admirable. In their dances, they were led by their chief's son, this function being his prerogative. He was a little savage with a frizzled yellow hair and his face was dabbed with charcoal. In his hand he carried an enormous palm-leaf-fan, with which he directed the dancers. Going through all the movements of the dance, he careered over the ground, now shouting loud words of command to the singers, and now to the dancers, yards away on their flanks. He was simply splendid, flying about like a demented demon, here, there and every-where, and the dancers, whether their backs were turned or not, all keeping exact time with him. As these men appeared, so, bounding voice-lessly yet terrifically about and whirling their clubs, they vanished into the darkness."

The Trivandrum 'Vela-Kali',[23] is a representation in dance of the attack of the Kaurava army, led by their king's son, Duryōdhana, on the Pāṇḍavas guided by Sri Krishna, and finally taking to their heels after the fall of their prince. The Fijian dance was its replica.

XIV. THE SHADOW-PLAY

90. In his paper "Indian Settlers in S. E. Asia", Prof. K. A. Nilakanṭa Sastri remarks as follows :—

"The celebrated Dutch archaeologist and historian, N. J. Krom, reconstructed the pre-historic Javanese civilization from the current ethnology of non-Hinduized Indonesians, and attributed to its material culture, (1) Rice cultivation by artificial irrigation, (2) Dyeing of textiles by "batik" (3) The gamelan orchestra, and (4) The Wayang or the shadow-play. But it has been rightly said that only the first of these traits—rice-cultivation—can be definitely accepted as pre-Hindu, and that all the other traits enumerated may have owed something to the Hindu colonists. Recent research has recognised India as the home of the shadow-play; dyeing by the 'batik' process, though not under that name,

23. "Travancore Information", July, 1941.

was known in India and so too the musical instruments of the Gamelan from very early times".

While edorsing Prof. Sastri's conclusion in general, I desire to amend it slightly by stating that it was the puppet-play that was borrowed from India and not the shadow-play, which I think must have been evolved in Java soon after the advent of the puppet-play and its local development. I believe that there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of the shadow-play in India in the 1st century B. C., when it was smuggled into China. It is true that the term 'Leather puppet' (Tolpāvai) occurs in early Tamil literature, but that is insufficient to identify it with *shadow-play*, which is "Nizhal koothu". But since China had got it from some contemporary culture, and as Indonesia had more intimate contacts with it, we have to surmise that Indonesia was the original home of that art.

91. The earliest Indian reference to puppet-play occurs in the "Shānti Parva" (295-5 and 6 of the Calcutta edition), where Bhīshma quotes Parāśara.

" Appearance on the stage (Raṇgāvataraṇa), Rūpopajīvana (?) exhibition of puppets, the sale of spirits and meat, and trading in iron and leather should never be adopted for purposes of living by one who had never before engaged in those callings, every one of which is regarded as censurable in the world. We have heard that if one engaged in them can renounce them, he acquires great merit." (Translation by M. N. Dutt, 1903).

Nīlakaṇta (A.C. 17th century), the commentator, unambiguously explains the word "Rūpopajīvanam" as the profession of exhibiting shadow-plays.

"Rūpopajīvanam = Jālamaṇḍapikā iti dākshiṇātyeshu prasiddham // Yatra sūkshmam vastram vyavadhāya, charmamayair ākāraih rajāmātyādīnām charyā pradarsyate" //

Nīlakaṇṭa further adds that the art was "well-known in South India". That was in the 17th century of the commentator. But was it so in the beginning of the Christian era, when the above verse was incorporated in to the text of the epic by the redactor? It might be so, if Patañjali's reference to "Śobhanikas" or 'Śaubhikas' in his "Mahābhāshya" was to that art.

"Ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratyaksham Kamsam ghātayanti // Balim bandhayanti iti //"

Here the grammarian refers to those Śobhanikas as causing or performing the killing of Kamsa and the binding of Bali. It is to be noted that Śobhanika is an ambiguous term applicable to puppets and shadow-plays. There is nothing to suggest that they were made of translucent leather; nor is there also indication that their shadows were seen on a screen.

92. Adiyārkunallār, the commentator of the Tamil epic, "Śilappadhikāram", refers to "Thōlpāvai" (= Leather-puppets). Apparently, the term might connote the art of the shadow-play. But he lived in the 12th century. As, however, he was quoting from a prior source, the art must have existed in South India long before his epoch. But *how long? Chronology is important in this* dialectic approach.

93. Dr. Luders and his school of orientalists, however, declare that Subhata's "Dūtāṅgada", "Meghaprabhāchārya's "Dharmābhyudaya" and Dāmodaragupta's "Mahānātaka" were regarded as "Cchāyā-nāṭakas" (Cchāyā = shadow, Nāṭaka = play). The above scholars have evidently overlooked the fact that the above-mentioned dramas are all in pure Sanskrit, with not even a tinge of Prākrit. They are, therefore, Sanskrit "Cchāyā" versions of their original stage-versions in local dialects, and were never 'shadow-plays' at all. It is well-known to every student of Sanskrit drama that 'Cchāyā' meant only "the Sanskrit translation of Prākrit passages in a play".

94. There are more than one fact standing in the way of accepting the conclusion of Prof. Śāstri regarding the shadow-play. Java had developed the art and had been regarding with religious awe the shadowy figures of the characters as the symbols, *if not incarnations*, of the spirits of their ancestors. The term "wayang," by which the art was identified, was also the term applied to ancestral spirits in general.

95. The second fact is the ambiguity in the meanings of the term "Śobhanika", which may connote solid three-dimensional marionettes also. The Tamil "Thōlpāvai" connotes 'Leather puppets' and not shadow figures. Shadows can never be puppets.

The modern term 'Nizhal koothu' conveys the full meaning accurately, but it is absent in epigraphs and literature.

96. The third fact is, that, besides the already-mentioned stray references in literature, there are no epigraphical nor historical evidence about its technique nor origin. Its crude present-day survival in the hands of some Telugu-speaking nomadic communities, induce us to suspect that it had an exotic origin. The former principality of Sāṇḍūr, in Rāyalaśemaa, was the only one that had recognized the art and granted lands to certain families of Marathi-speaking nomads, known as 'Killekhyatas'. And these grants date from as late as the 18th century only. when our contacts with Indonesia were already many centuries old. I had the privilege of witnessing a series of seven shadow-plays during the Navarātri festival of 1929 at Thiruvaiyāru, covering the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The performers were of the gipsy caste (kudu-kuduppai-kārans). The shows were crude and the leather-puppets too were equally so.

97. But the last and the most important of the obtruding facts is the *motive that prompted the agriculturists of Rāmanātha-*puram, Tanjore and Rāyalaśeema to patronise the shadow-play. It is a firm belief among the South Indians that drought could be avoided and even the rain-god propitiated if a performance of therukkoothu or of puppet-play be organised. The Javanese too believed that shadow-plays could bring in rain. Both Indonesia and South India were and are rice-producing lands, exchanging not only arts, religions and culture, but superstitions also. It is natural for all rain-thirsty ryots to resort to any means to secure rain during droughts, and the shadow-play of S.E. Asia was brought to S. India by the returning traders, nomadic adventurers and artisans to be marketed among the needy agriculturists. But since the carriers of the art were of the uncultured gipsy caste and as the art had only a ritual value, it ceased to develop and remains, in Tamil Nadu at least, as a ritualistic relic. The Sāṇḍūr rulers, though enthusiastic patrons, were but lords of a petty state that had come into existence as an offshoot of the disintegrated Maratha power in the 19th century, and were, therefore, too insignificant to exert any influence on the aesthetics of the wider public of South India.

98. These and many other facts naturally tempt us to infer that South India had not only given its stylised and perfected dance art to S. E. Asia, but had also received in return this art of the shadow-play from Java,—perhaps many centuries ago.

Until other positive evidences are forthcoming, we have to be content with the theory that the shadow-play, 'Nizhal-āṭṭam", was an importation from Java.

XI THEATRE AND ANCESTER WORSHIP

You may remember that I began my discourse today with the *statement that theatrical performances were originally* parts of funeral and death anniversary rites performed during the worship of ancestors, before maturing into a mode of amusement and *recreation and that* their major elements were the trance-dances of the ecstatic priest-mediums, through whom ancestral and other spirts manifested themselves to their devotees. Most of the fine arts were so. The 'Sāmagāna, of Vedic Aryans, the ecstatic poems of the Hebrew prophets, the Veṛi-Aaḍals and the Koḍukoṭṭi or Thāṇḍava-c-chākkais of the Tamilians, the Thuḷḷals and Velichappāḍu songs of Keraḷa, the Yakshagāna of Karṇāṭaka, the Barong-plays of Bali, the Wayang of Java and the Noh and Den Gaku dances of Japan were all originally rendered not only as offerings but also as visual manifestations of the spirits or demons worshipped. These are nowadays performed on the stage and the screen, in television and on the radio as pure entertainments without any tinge of sacredness.

But there was an intermediate stage when the arts continued to be employed as rituals and at the same time served as popular entertainments. That was *the period when the Śunaśśepha and* other episodes were enacted, when the Kamsa-vadha and Riśyaśringa plays were performed at the funeral of Andhaka ("Harivamśa"), when "*Yātrakaḷis*", "*Yakshagānas*", 'Vaḷḷikkoothus' and 'Kāvaḍichintus' were performed in Tamil Nādu. Certain types of shows were even named sometimes after the occasion of their *performance* and sometimes after the main characters or participants. Thus "Kamsavadha" was called in Tamil Nāḍu 'Bāla-'Leelai-nāḍagaṇgal' after the Boy-god's adventures; "Yātra-Kali" after the Mahāyātra or the final passing away of the souls of dead

kings or sages of Kerala, 'Kāvadi-chintu' after the Kāvadi-trance-dances of the devotees of Murugan, 'Kodu-kotti' after the drum used in the trances of Śiva and 'Valli-koothu' after the ecstatic utterings of the kurathi priestess in 'Kuravanji'. Even the term 'Tāndavam' seems to be a pure Tamil word—a derivative of 'thāndu', meaning to leap. There is no Sanskrit root for it. The root 'Dhāv, in Sanskrit has its equivalent in 'Thāvutal' in Tamil and 'Tāndava' cannot be a derivative of 'Dhāv'. Thus the art of Śiva Tāndava can be considered indigenous to South India and it was employed in the "Kodukotti" dance.

In Kerala and Karnātaka, the demons and demonesses, possessing a human being, are called 'yakshas', 'yakshis' and 'gandharvas'- although Tamilians use the word 'Pey' for it. This practice suggests that "yaksha" and "gandharva" originally meant "a dead man's spirit". A song or dance employed to propitiate or to invoke or even to impersonate a yaksha must, therefore, be called 'Yakshagāna'. The 'Yakshagāna', now applied to a type of dance-drama, originally meant only a type of song. We have parallels of such namings in Java, where the term "Wayang" is employed for the spirit as well as the shadow-play. The Tamil term "Pey", for a ghost or spirit, has, however, taken a voyage to Siam, Cambodia and Laos, where it occurs as the variant, 'PI' to denote the spirit of a dead person.

In propitiating such yakshis or spirits or even gods and goddesses, not only peculiar regional types of musical modes and orchestras have been developed through the ages, but also special symphonies suited to the various moods of the propitiated spirits. For example, the initial invocation became the Thodayam, the coming forth became Varavu, propitiation was Stotram, the prayer to grant boons became Prārthana, the Dance of ecstacy of the spirit was Natanam and lastly the exit was the Malayerutal.

In Tamil-nādu, the term 'Melam' is employed for different types of orchestral groups-viz. 'Peria—melam', or 'big melam' for Nāgaswaram orchestra, "chinnamelam" for Bharata-nātyam orchestra, 'Naiyāndi-melam for the violent nāgaswaram-cum-pampai orchestra, 'Bhāgavata-melam' for the Telugu dance-drama troupe. In North India this term 'Mela' is not applied to orchestra at all. It means a concourse of people gathering for a particular festival—e.g.

Kumbha-melas of Hardwar and Prayāga. But in Java and Bali and some other South-east Asian regions, the term occurs as a suffix in the word 'Gāmelan'', which is the Javanese orchastra; 'Ga' meaning 'song'. This is another unimpeachable evidence of the export of S. Indian music and dance to S.E. Asia.

XVI. A BASIC PROBLEM.

99. Before summing up, I beg to pose a highly controversial problem, viz. the origin of the words Naṭa, Nāṭaka and Nāṭya through a fresh approach, connecting them with the universally prevalent shamanistic trance-dances, which were the common factors of the cults of all the lands of the Orient. I have already pointed out the intimate relationship between the funeral and the annual death ceremonies on the one hand and theatrical performances on the other of various ancient civilizations.

100. Now, let me draw your attention to the definition of the term "Nāṭaka", given by all the Indian theorists, including Bharata. It is a type of drama where-in the chief characters are gods, demons and dead kings and sages of old, the theme being heroic and erotic. This term is a derivative of the root 'Naṭ', which is non-Sanskritic, meaning "to act". Now if this root were to mean *that much only* (viz. *to act*), Nāṭaka must comprise all varieties of drama and not the one abovesaid type only. It must be synonymous with "Rūpaka" or "Daśarūpaka". But Bharata and most of the other theorists apply the term only to heroric plays, where-in the characters are superhuman, sub-human, demonaic and ghostly. The rational conclusion is that the root 'Naṭ' must have conveyed a meaning which is more than mere acting.

101. I suggest that it must have meant "to impersonate and act like a god, spirit, demon or former royalty" and Naṭa must have been first applied to the human medium through whom gods and spirits manifested themselves in ecstacy and trance. The term Naṭarāja, who performs Naṭana, connotes definitely the king of such trance-dancers. I am confirmed in this belief by the occurrence of the word 'Nut' in old Egyptian legends, meaning chief of spirits, and 'Naṭ' in Burmese, conveying the sense of 'spirit'. The S.E. Asian word "Wayang" meaning 'a spirit' is also applied to the "Shadow-play" also, where the characters are superhuman and sub-human.

102. Even Tolkāppiar, the oldest Tamil grammarian of the beginning of the Christian era, refers to "Nāḍaka-Vazhakku" and juxtaposes it against "Ulakiyal-Vazhakhu" Whatever may be the interpretation given to thsse terms by commentators who came 1000 years later, it cannot be gainsaid that 'Ulakiyal' meant only " human behaviour", and that "Nāṭaka" must, therefore, have meant some behaviour other than human—i.e. divine, supernatural, sub-human and ghostly. And further, Tamil tradition ascribes the term 'Nāṭaka' (in its epics 'Śilappadhikāram' and 'Maṇimekhala') to dances, pure and meaningful with gestures, and not to prose dramas. Mādhavi, the dancer, is referred to as a "Nāṭaka-kkaṇikai".

103. And yet, again, the Saivite saint Mānikkavāśakar sings as follows: "Nāḍakattāl unnaḍiyār pol naḍittu etc." (having *impersonated Thee through Nāṭaka as did Thy prophets of old*). Here too the saint does not refer to any dramatic representation, but to the ecstatic state of the god-intoxicated mediums, who were none else than the Śaivite saints themselves.

If 'Nat' meant 'a spirit' in Egyptian and Burmese, its Tamil equivalent is 'PEY' (பேய்). It occurs in Cambodia, Thailand Laos and Vietnam as 'PI' (பை), in Burmese again as 'NAT-PWE' (நட்ப்வே), in Java and Bali as WE-YANG (வேயாங்), all connoting 'PEYATTAM' (பேயாட்டம்) or spirit-dance. This surmise fits in admirably with the cults of animism prevailing and impacting on one another in S. E. Asia and S. India from prehistoric times.

XVII. CHARACTERISTICS OF ORIENTAL THEATRES

104. From a study of the classical theatres of the Orient, one can discern a wide-spread and common tradition.

There is, first of all, the regard in which Drama is held. Believed to be of sacred origin, it is performed in the spirit of an offering, the stage being purified by prayer and benediction, the manager and actors dedicating themselves in a truly religious spirit. The art of Nāṭya in India was given by Brahma Himself to Indra to be performed by Devas in Heaven. In Japan it was invented by the gods to lure the Sun-goddess, *Ametarasu*, out of her cave, where she had hidden her light from the world; and there is the story in Kerala of the king, who saw a vision of Krishṇa with

the help of the sage of Vilva-Mangalam and who, thereafter, made the Kathakali dance in honour of the event. The ritualistic back-ground is evident in China, Siam, Java, Tibet and Polynesia.

The subject matter likewise pertains to gods and demi-gods and is often concerned with demons. The plots are epics, known to all. In this sense they are really folk-plays.

Another characteristic feature is in the method of presentation, where an attempt is made to create a greater-than-human stage. Since the dramas deal with the gods and the demons, it is fitting that their acting should be god-like. It masks its characters either with painted faces or with carved masks, symbolically coloured, and clothes them in larger-than-life and gorgeous garments. Everything is done to increase the stature as well as the un-human-ness of these figures. The use of rythmic movements and conventional mudras help to remove the character from actual life and lift it into the realms of the immortal and the unchanging.

The understanding of the relationship between rythm and emotion is one of the most aesthetic contributions of India to the other Oriental cultures. The musical accompaniment, particularly the drumming of a very subtle kind, is responsible in no small degree for the emotional effect of all Asiatic dances, especially the 'Noh', the 'Wayang', the 'Lakhon' and the 'Kathakali'. Many different rythms have been developed and applied, not only to their accompaniments, but also to the speech, steps and gestures of the dancers. And every rythm is definitely correlated with a definite mood and produces its effect with precise calculation.

These to my mind are the essential elements of the Indian histrionic traditions which have influenced the dances of the Far East.

XVII. SOME CONCLUSIVE HISTORICAL DATA

105. Parallel developments of similar art-forms in countries separated by impassable barriers are certainly conceivable. Where definite proofs of political and commercial intercourse between two countries exist in literature and epigraphy, chronology comes to our aid in determining the lender and the borrower of a specific art or culture. That was how we were able to prove the direct influence of Indian art-tradition on the dance-forms of Java, Bali, Siam and

Cambodia, where Hinduism with its caste system still survives among some of the indigenous population.[24] But in the case of Polynesian *dances, no inscriptional nor literary* evidence is available and we rely, therefore, entirely *on probabilities*, due to the similarity of forms between a highly civilized nation and a primitive crude culture surviving in the Pacific Islands.

106. In the case of Tibet, China and Japan. on the other hand, where the themes are from the Buddhist. Tao-ist, and Shinto-ist mythology and legendary lore, it may be necessary to supplement our arguments of Indian influence by proving historical contacts between Indian and these countries prior to the appearance of the dance-forms in the latter.

107. Shinto-ism, the indigenous religion of Japan, before the advent of Buddhism, is but the anglicised Japanese nomenclature for 'Hinduism', (Sindhuism), *the religion of the Sindhus* or Indians. Its gods[25] are Hindu gods Śiva, Indra, Gaṇeśa, Saraswati, Kāḷī, Lakshmi Krishṇa, Ushas, Yama and Varuṇa. Many of their festivals and rituals have their parallels in India, deprived of course of their later Buddhistic accretions and colourings. Apart from these pre-*historic borrowings from India*, there is recorded evidence in Japan itself of several visits of religious preachers and commercial men to Japan from the seventh century onwards. Bodhi-dharma of South India arrived and interviewed in Japan Prince Shotoken, who lived between 573 and 621 A.D. Śubhākara of Central India had left a book, *named* '*Mahā-Vairochanābhi-Sambodhi-Sutra*', at the Kume dera temple between 716 and 735 A.D. Bodhisena visited Japan in 736 A.D. and he taught Sanskrit to Japanese pupils under the auspices of the Imperial Court. Cotton-seed was introduced into Japan by a castaway Indian merchant in 799 A.D.[26] Later contacts were too numerous and very frequent, especially after the establishment of the Indian kingdoms of Champa and Srīvijaya in S.E. Asiec But this much will be sufficient to establish the Indian influence on the ritual dances of Japan.

24. *Mudras, the Ritual Hand-poses of the Buddha & Shiva Priests of Bali* by Tyra De Kleen, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

25. Chaman Lal in *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, Oct. 10, 1948, & 'India & Old Japan' by V. Srinivasan in 'New Review', Calcutta.

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108 There is a school of thought which believes that the Tao-ist doctrine of Lao-Tse was nothing but the 'Tapas' or ascetic cult of India. Many of its gods are Indian in character. There are Tao-ist cave-temples in China, where Gods of the Hindu Pantheon are sculptured.[27] After the advent of Buddhism in China, pilgrims from and preachers and propagandists to that country, were very frequent and they have left indelible records of their cultural missions. There were political embassies, commercial missions exchange of honours and presents, and several of such very friendly dealings between the two countries. The Universities of Takshaśila and Nālanda were cultural centres, wherefrom radiated intellectuals and artists to China, Japan, Indonesia and Indo-China. There are grounds to believe that the art of the Indian Stage *migrated* to China, Tibet and Japan via Baktria and Turkestan. The Grammarian, Pāṇini, who first mentions Naṭa-sūtras, was himself a native of Gāndhāra, which was situated in Afghanistan not far from Chinese Turkestan.

109. In the years 433, 434 and 438 A. D., batches of Buddhist nuns arrived in China by the sea-route and established Bikshuni Orders and helped to further Guṇavarman's work for the foundation of the monastic system in China.[28]

Sri Kothaṇḍarāman: Mr. Director, Ladies and Gentlemen I feel extremely honoured today by this invitation to speak at this assembly of scholars. I do not deserve to be called a 'scholar', as I am just emerging from a course of training in Dramaturgy under the veteran Leader of today's Seminar. Whatever I say can only be some bits of information gathered from Mr. Aundy's one hundred discourses, which I had the privilege to attend during the last five years. And what I have chosen to deal with is only a sort of supplement to his thesis, giving a few historical perspectives and backgrounds to his arguments and conclusions pertaining to the South-east Asian and West Asian cultural mileus.

26. *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, by Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay.

27. Dr. V. Raghavan, in an Article 'China & India' in the *Kaveri*, Kumbhakonam.

28. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee, in *History of Indian Shipping* & Ibid

The consensus of opinion among scholars is that South-east Asia was populated by immigrants from Central Asia from 2500 to 1500 B. C. Anthropologists call them by various names-Indonesian, Austronesian, proto-Malay and deutero-Malay These prehistoric immigrants are supposed to have moved south along the river valleys of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and by ship along the coastline from island to island. They settled where they could fish or grow rice, particularey in the great river basins of the main-land and on the volcanic-rich plains of Java and Bali. They seem to have established communities and begun the long process of developing civilizations, different, yet related, which now go by the names Mon-Khmer, Cham, Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese.

The Mons are those who *settled in the delta of the Irāwaddy in* Burma and ruled most of Southern Burma and Thailand from their capitals in Pegu and Thaton. The modern Burmese are a different yet related people, who, later, with Chinese help, put an end to Mon rule and almost exterminated the Mon race as a distinct entity.

The Khmers are those who settled along the Mekong river and in the high-lands of what is now known as Cambodia. They carved out a great empire through conquest and established their capital at Angkor. Their territory included not only modern Cambodia but most of Laos and Thailand and part of Vietnam and Malaya. The magniffcient temples of Angkor-wat and the dances of Cambodia and Siam are legacies of this great civilization, which reached its zenith in the 12th century A. C.

The immigrants into Vietnam, who settled along the coastal plains adjoining the Pacific were the Chams. They built a short-lived civilization, which fell under the pressures of the Viets from the north and of the Khmers from the west. These two invaders enslaved the Chams, killed their kings and destroyed their cities.

The Sundanese are the prehistoric immigrants into West Java and those of East Java are the Javanese. Kingdom after kingdom rose and fell in this island, some very great, like Majapahit in the 14th century, and others very minor ones, like the Balinese.

The Majapahit exercised suzertainty over Sumatra, Malaya, Borneo, parts of Thailand and Cambodia, besides Java for 1500 years. Their courts lavished patronage on the puppet-theatre, music, dance and literature. The Balinese, on the other hand, developed the performing arts to such an extent that they played an integral part in the peoples' lives and religion as has never been seen elsewhere in the world.

In the earliest periods of these immigrants, civilization, while the migrations were still going on, and when societies were first being established, they seem to have shared a common origin and a commom developed culture, whose important elements were the cultivation of rice, the practice of animism, the possession of a common fund of myths and bronze manufacture.

Scholars surmise that, because these peoples supported themselves by growing rice, they established stable communities, in which periods of leisure following the harvest occured two or three times a year. Leisure time is an essential pre-condition for the creation of the art of the theatre. A performer must have enough leisure in which to develop his artistic skill, and an audience too must have time to attend a performance. And rice cultivation provided this pre-condition.

And, again, the rice harvest was celebrated as a major community festival, stimulating the performance of dances, singing and story-reciting. Throughout South - east Asia, special plays, which honour the rice-spirit, are still performed at harvest time.

Animism was the common religion of all these immigrant peoples. One of its beliefs is that spirits reside in everything in the world — in a stone, in a grain of rice, in a tree, in a mountain, in a river. That the soul of the rice-grain would be killed or frightened by using a large sickle to cut rice-stalks is an animistic belief widely held. As a result, rice is often cut, three stalks at a time, with a tiny knife, held in the palm of the hand.

One of the most common types of dance in Burma is a *Spritdance,* specifically performed to placate the *Nat* or animistic spirit of a particular locality. These animistic spirits are called ***NAT*** in Burma, *PI* in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand, *ANITO* in the Philipp-

ines, *WAYANG* and many such in Indonesia. Rassers, a Dutch scholar, surmises that the Javanese shadow-play, *Wayang*, developed out of pre-historic rituals, in which the ancestors of the tri be were contacted through the medium of shadow figures.

Vulnerable children can be protected from death in Java by the performance of *MUNWAKALA*, a special shadow-play. A Thai can show his gratitude to the spirits for having received a favour from them by paying for a *shadow-play show* in their honour and *it is not even necessary for a human audience* to attend.

My teacher, Mr. Aundy, seems to me to be hitting the nail at the right point, when he suggested a close relationship between the terms '*Nāṭaka*', '*Naṭa*', and '*Nātya*' on the one hand, and the term NAT of the Burmese, conveying the connotations of *gods and spirits*, which must have sprung from the same remote origins in Central Asia, wherefrom the pre-Vedic Indians too had migrated to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, the Swât and the Kābul.

The art of bronze-working was also a part of pre-historic culture. Large kettle-drums have been found in Viet-nam, Laos, Sumatra, Java, Thailand and Malaya. Chinese archaeologists have already established the fact that these drums were made as early as 1135 B. C. in South-west China. It is, therefore, very likely that these immigrants to South-east Asia also knew how to make simple musical instruments in that metal in the form of turned sets of bowls, bars and gongs. There is carved, on one of the reliefs of the 9th century Buddhist monument at Borobodur, in Java, a bronze xylophone, similar to the one used in modern Indonesian Gamelan ensemble to-day.

It is, however, quite unlikely that the music and the dance of these prehistoric people were very complex. Some bronze instruments, like drums and flute, were used in performance and bamboo sticks were beat together to mark time. Dance too must have been very rudimentary and there were no professional performers. What we can imagine is the existence of a firmly established tradition of folk performances, closely tied to communal rites of worship at festivals. And when they, several centuries later, came into contact with the more sophisticated Tamilian immigrants, who brought

with them their advanced techniques in the arts of dance, puppetry, and music, the older indigenous arts quite readily assimilated them, resulting in the present-day "Gamelan" orchestra. With the characteristic intuition of a born detective, Mr. Aundy has identified in the suffix 'Meḷan' of the Javanese term 'Gāmelan' an echo of the Tamil musical term 'Meḷam', applied in general to all Tamilian musical concerts – the prefix 'Gā' connoting only the all-India term Gāna' for song.

Sri P. Anand: Mr. Director, Professors and Scholars; I am here to supplement only one point of today's thesis of my teacher, Sri Andi-Subramaniam – viz. the intimate relationship that must have existed between the myths of Osiris and Isis of Egypt, of Ishtar and Adonis of Babylonia and of the Vrikshikās, Yaksha-Yakshiṇis and Gandharva-Apsarases of ancient India and Cambodia, as reflected in the Vedic texts and plastic arts of these three regions. I need not say that I am solely indebted to my venerable master for the data I am presenting today.

It is superfluous to repeat the legend and myths of Osiris and Isis, as they have been elaborately narrated by the Leader himself. But I wish to draw your attention to the special significance attached to the *wooden chest* and *the enshrouding tree* around it, which became subsequently the ornamental pillar of the palace of King Melcarth of Phoenicia. This tree and its sacred contents became ultimately the nucleus of the symbol of ritualistic worship in many parts of the world. The myth itself and its astronomical significance became secondary and often was edited and embellished as it migrated to Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, Greece, India and Cambodia. But the anthropomorphic Goddess and the tree-pillar-worship remained and still remains almost intact. There is yet another element in the myth of Osiris which had, in later times, given rise to the Phallus cult or the Linga worship, as it is called in India. When Osiris' body was cut into 14 and 3/4 pieces and scattered by Seth or Typhon all over Egypt, the last smaller fragment, which was his sexual organ, was thrown into the Nile. A crocodile swallowed it and, when the Goddess Isis was collecting the pieces, she could not recover it. She, therefore, made an artificial replica of it and began to worship it in commemoration of her Lord. That was the origin of the Phallic worship in Egypt. That was why that aquatic reptile too had become sacred to the ancient Egyptians.

Astronomically interpreted, the 15th fragment represented the 15th day of the dark fortnight—the New-Moon, when the sun and the moon were united.

The Śiva-Liṅga of India is not a symbol of Śiva alone, as is often supposed by the lay public, but of Śiva and Ūmā combined. That was why it was called Soma—SA plus UMĀ = He with UMĀ. The perpendicular shaft of the symbol stands for the Phallus and the horizontal receptacle in the shape of a truncated triangle is the Yoni or the Kteis. That was why it was called Sāmba Śiva—SA plus AMBA plus ŚIVA. The current Hindu practice of men and women circumambulating and worshipping the peepal (aśwattha) tree on such New-moon days as fall on Mondays (Soma-Vāra) is a relic of the ancient Egyptian cult, which had crept into popular Hinduism after the introduction of the week-days in the Hindu almanack in the early centuries of the Christian era. Monday is dedicated to God Śiva—also called Soma—who is represented in Indian sculpture as not only the wearer of the Moon on his crest but also of the River Ganges. whose emblem is the crocodile (Makara). The Bull-vehicle of Siva is also not without its tradition, as it was the sacred Bull-calf, actually worshipped in ancient Egypt as the visible representative of the God Osiris.

The unlimited virility as well as the dismemberment of the Hindu Gandharva are referred to in the hymns VIII-6-13 & IV 37-7 of the Atharva Veda, where the Rishi declares: "I cut off the member (Śephas) of the crested dancing Gandharva, the husband of the Apsaras". In 6–4–3 of the Brihadāraṇyaka Ūpanishad. the female organ is compared to the stone used in extracting the Soma juice, its skin to the soma plant and the whole sexual act as a Vājapeya sacrifice. In another passage, the text refers to the Gods offering Retas in the oblation of woman, wherefrom arises the 'Purusha.' Elsewhere in the Rig Veda (1-64-4) and in Atharva Veda (x-8-44), both Gandharvas and Yakshas are referred to asendowed with identical functions and called by the common epithets of 'Siśūn' and 'Yuvaanam'.

The late Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmy regarded the term 'Yaksha' as of uncertain etymology, (Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 14th Edition) but others derive it from the word 'Yajna' (Sacrifice) and explain it as the 'Emancipated soul of a sacrificial victim'. This accords very

well with not only the Indian concept of the heavenly abode assigned to all the victims of any sacrifice, but also with the attainment of immortality by the Egyptian hero, Osiris, after his assassination by Seth and his 72 priestly accomplices. There are many references in the 'Mahāwamśa' and other Buddhist literature to the attainment of 'Yaksha-hood' by those who had sacrificed their lives for others or for Buddhist causes. Some of these Yakshas were being worshipped as deities. The object of all the herostones of South India (Vīrakkal) was also similar. The God Kubera or Vaiśravana is called the chief of the Yakshas and Guhyakas in the Atharva Veda and it is significant that his symbol was the *Bānyan Tree.* And, again, Kāmadeva, the God of Love, was also called a Yaksha and his vehicle was the crocodile (makara).

The Yakshiṇis were the Dryads associated with the fruition of trees. They then came to be regarded as fertility spirits and their power of procreation was represented in Indian sculpture by provocative feminine poses. This Yakshiṇi cult, however, was but a regional phase of the universal Mother-cult of the boyhood of the human race. In the Tamil culture of the extreme south, it was called by the tell-tale term 'Iśakki'—a variant of Iyakki or Yakshi—and 'Māri' (Water-goddess), and Kumāri (Virgin). The maritime associations of the name 'Mary' (Maris) of the Christian Mother-Goddess and many of the Hebrew women cannot also be ignored.

Indian sculpture abounds with innumerable tree-goddesses (vrikshikas). Almost every stone pillar supporting a gopura of South India has a bas-relief of a full-breasted young girl embracing a tree or creeper. They possess the same sex-appeal as those of the bracket-Yakshis of the gates of the Sānchi Stupa. We perceive sexy damsels embracing trees in pillar-reliefs of the Barhut Stupa too, carrying epigraphs such as 'Batanmāra-Yakshi', 'Chūlaloka Devatā', 'Sudarsana Yakshi' and 'Chandā Yakshi' and they are carved among the pillars bearing sculptures of Yakshas like Kubera. The Hāthagumpha carvings of Orissa also exhibit similar erotic characteristics. Some of the Mathura pillar sculptures of the 2nd century after Christ, believed to represent 'Goddess Abundance', 'Yakshi with a Parrot' and 'Tree-Goddess' are also Yakshiṇīs. The second mentioned figure with the parrot has a realistic portrayal of the female sex-organ and is completely nude. (It is necessary to remind the reader here about

the escape of Isis as a bird from the clutches of her persecutor, Seth, in the Egyptian Myth. And, the Sanskrit word for a bird is 'Pakshi' and the two fortnights of the Lunar Month in the Indian almanack are called 'Pakshas' (Wings)

The austere Jains too were not exempt from the influence of this hoary tradition. In the Neminath temple of Mount Abu (A.D. 1232), both the pillar and bracket figures of the door leading to the chapel have this dryad-characteristics. And on the brackets of the front interior pillars of the Rishabhanātha Temple on the same mountain we see these sexy figures.

Even a casual glance at the South-West wall of the Sikhara of the 'Rājārāṇi' temple (A.D. 1100) and at the sculptural reliefs on the front and side pillars of the main portal of the Mukteśwar Temple, both at Bhuvaneśwar in Orissa, and also at the dozens of Madanikas in the Chennakeśava tempte at Belūr will be enough to convince us about the purposefulness of these motifs.

This Dryad-concept did not stop with India in its migration from Egypt. It is seen even in Cambodia, where, in a doorway sculpture of the Angkor Wat (A.D. 1200), is seen an Apsaras holding a branch of a stylized tree or creeper. Two bas-reliefs, occuring in Ayūthia of Thailand (17th century A.C.) depict two Apsarases posed in front of a creeper.

The enumeration of the above series of examples is to help us *to establish the theory of a continuity of this tradition, from the* 32nd century B.C. upto A.D. 1900, persisting in utter disregard of religious and political barriers.

It is now easy and natural for us to deduce that, long before the advent of temples and idol-worship in the world, we and our proto-types elsewhere were offering worship in the woods and groves, enclosing trees dedicated to Dryads, Yakshas, Yakshiṇis, and Apsarases, the mode of worship being sacrifices with hymns, songs and dances having story-elements.

Among the Semitic peoples of Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, we discover traces of this cult in the worship of Baal and Astarte—Ishtar and Baalat—in the form of a stone-pillar, called 'Masseba' and a tree called 'Ashera'. The Israelites were eurged

to cut down the Ashera and dash to pieces the Masseba. (Exodus XXXIV - 13 & Isiah LVII - 5 & 6).

In Greece and Ionia, Dionysus was worshipped in a secret rite, where phallus and kteis were borne in procession by men and women, raw flesh and blood of live animals consumed, wines drunk, frenzied dances performed with wild cries and finally all ending in indiscriminate coitus under cover of darkness. Out of the coarse humour and pathos, inseparable from such orgiastic scenes, the Greek genius developed its Attic Theatre.

Almost all the surviving statues of the God dess Venus, exhibited in the various museums of the world, must have had the fertility motif imported from ancient Egypt, for, near the legs of these Venuses could be seen *representations of a broken stem of a tree.*

The idea of a Sthala-Vriksha for a temple is also as old as the hills in India. Very often the temple and the locality derive their names from it—as for example Ekāmreśwara, Thiruvaṭeśwara, Maruthūr, Ambalathil, Attiyūr, Māvoor, Kadambūr &c. Even now a male tree, usually a peepal or banyan or mango, is planted over the Samaadhi of a Saint, and after the death of his earthly consort, a female tree — margosa or laurel — is also planted by the side of the original tree. The two trees receive periodical worship. If the worshippers happen to be poets and actors, even theatrical performances depicting their lives form the major items of offerings.

It is not without significance that the God Śiva, the Deity of the Lingam, is given the attributes of a Naṭarāja, the King of Actors. And in every temple of His, we have a special Nāṭya-Maṇḍapa (theatrical auditorium), very richly decorated with hundreds of exquisitely carved pillars, symbolizing trees. Nandikeśwara, the Bull-headed vehicle, has been credited with the expert knowledge of the Art of pure dance, Thāṇḍava (Thaṇḍu is another name of the Bull-headed God and his art is, therefore, called Thāṇḍava).

The Nāṭya-Śāstra informs us that Lord Brahma was the inventor of the art of Drama, that Bharata Muni was the first Producer-Director, that Ūravaśi and the Gandharvas were the first actors and actresses, that Nārada and Tumburu were the first members of the orchestra, and that Indra, the Rishis and the Devas were the first spectators. There seems to have been no criticism of the first per-

formance from the spectators. They were apparently satisfied. But when they exhibited their second performance before the Lord Śiva, He seems to have remarked that the show lacked tempo, because of the absence of the dance element in the performance. And He ordered His attendant, Nandikeśwara, to teach the art of dance to the 100 sons of Bharata.

Now, this anecdote discloses the fact that Nāṭya did *not* originate from the Art of Dance, as is often supposed, but from the art of acting, impersonation, dialogue and sentiment. This effectively disproves the theory of some modern savants who declare that drama had its origin in dance, basing their arguments on the occurrence of the epigram 'Nāṭakam Nanrutuh.' We have a similar idiom in Tamil in the word 'Naḍamaaḍa', meaning only moving about. But, if we take the etymology of 'Naḍamaaḍuka' we will have to take it as 'performing a dance', which the usage does not permit. Thus, 'Nāṭakam Nanrutuh', can connote only 'acted a drama' and not "danced a play".

Sri P. Murugaiyan : I am afraid I am not much of a scholar. I happen to be one of the chosen few, privileged to undergo training under Sri Aundy in the post-graduate College of Dramaturgy, Madras. Much of what I propose to say has been gathered from his lectures and personal talks during the last five or six years.

It was a revelation to me to learn from him that ancient Egypt and our country were having very close cultural contacts, if not mutual migrations. It spurred me on to direct my attention towards the study of evidences. While my studies were thus focussed on the cultural history of West Asian countries, I had the honour to be invited to participate in this Seminar.

The invitees would not have failed to note Sri Aundy's reminder about the cultural and political boundaries of those lands, which had established mutual contacts in those far-off times. As I presumed that he would not have much time to dwell in detail on this aspect, I thought that I could attempt to deal with it.

Without entering into the controversy about the racial identity of the Indus Valley people, it is possible to accept the intimate relationships between the Sumerian and the Indus Valley civilizations. The striking similarities of the seals, unearthed from both the

sites, cannot be brushed aside as accidental. Both the cultures are as old as, if not older than, 4000 B.C. The Egyptian Pyramids too belong more or less to the same period. That there were very intimate commercial contacts between Egypt and Sumeria has been confirmed by archaeology. There were, therefore, opportunities for the Egyptian myths, legends and epics to travel to India through Sumeria and for the Indian myths and legends to reach Egypt. The late Lokamānya Tilak has pointed out that some of the Rig Vedic legends were based on Sumerian and Chaldaean myths. Father Heras pointed out that the episodes of Bhimasena's 'Saugandhikā-Haranam', occuring in the 'Mahābhārata', and of the Chaldean epic of Gilgamish were one and the same. And Dr.V.S.Suktāṇkar too had concurred with that scholar's view. We cannot, therefore, categorically brush aside Sri Aundy's theory that the 'legend of Ūrvaśi-Purūravas is a truncated version of one of the many Egyptian legends centering round Osiris, Isis and Horus.

The late Dr. Lohavarry, the French scholar and Dravidiologis, has explained six years ago in a learned thesis of his * that the Basque language, now spoken by a small community inhabiting the North of Spain on the slopes of the Pyrrenies Mountains, is almost akin to our ancient Tamil. He has cited more than 2500 words common to both. It is interesting to learn that this Basque language does not belong to the Indo-Germanic nor Indo-Aryan group of languages. But it had been in use in Europe long before the advent of the Aryan tongues.

And, again, words from this Basque language could be traced in the languages of Etruria, Sicily, North Africa, Ionia, Phoenicia and Chaldaea. It can therefore be safely surmised that this language had passed through these countries in the course of centuries and found its way to South India and perhaps to the lands of the Far East. It must have mingled with the spoken language of the South Indian people three thousand years ago and become what was then known as 'Koḍum-Tamil'. It may be interesting to you to learn that the late Dr. Lohavarry's work was published in Madras by Orient Longmans through the good offices of our own learned savant, Prof. Nilakanṭa Śāstri.

The late M.S. Rāmaswāmy Iyer, a scholarly son of the late Dr. Sir S. Subramaṇia Iyer of Madras, in his twenty and odd

*"Dravidian Origins", by Dr. Lohavavy, Orient Longmans, Madras

articles in the 'Hindu' of Madras, about forty years ago, tried to establish that there were Tamilian colonies in Western Asia and perhaps in Africa also. But as Tamilology had not the good fortune to receive the attention which it now receives, his was a lone voice in the wilderness.

We cannot, however, jump to the conclusion that the Tamils, who are mis-named Dravidians, were some people of ancient Europe, who later migrated to South India. In like manner, the theory that the so-called Aryans belonged to one race, who came from the Volga valley, stayed for some time in Central Asia, then invaded India, massacred the natives there and established themselves in their place is also a misconceived yarn. It is beyond logic to conjecture mass invasions of such huge magnitude taking place during those by gone ages when there were no thoroughfares and no effective means of transportation. But that customs and manners underwent changes due to mutual impacts is an incontrovertible fact. Exchange of myths, beliefs, superstitions—why, even inter-racial marriages and concubinage—are very likely phenomena.

Sri Aundy has explained the legends of the ancestral Goddess Nut of the Egyptians and her offsprings, Osiris, Isis and Horus, around whom festivals and theatrical shows were held. Although all nations celebrate the death-anniversaries of their famous ancestors, the Egyptians, like the Hindus, had a commont *fortnight* set apart for celebrating the anniversaries of all their ancestors. The Hindus call it 'Mahālaya Paksha'. The Christians call it the "All-Souls' day". It is stated that this celebration took place in ancient Egypt at the end of their month called 'Khiok'. It started a day earlier than the New-moon day of the month and concluded on the Full-moon day. Throughout this month, the Egyptians set up innumerable lamps in their house-fronts and backyards. They believed that their gods Osiris, Isis and Horus, with all their parapharnalia, would be visiting the land every year during that fortnight.

On the opening day, the people go in a body to the village common and plough the land ceremonially to the accompaniment of hymns chanted by the priests. They sow the seeds the next day. On another day they take in procession the golden image of a human-headed but horned cow on men's shoulders and go round

the temple of Osiris seven times. This is symbolical of the search of her husband by the goddess Isis. On another day the men and women beat their breasts and loudly lament the death of their God. On yet another day, two men enact the duel between Horus and Seth. On the penultimate day, a lamp is lit over the head of an image of Osiris, made out of wheat-flour, and worshipped. When the lamp has gone out, the wheat flour is distributed to all the people. On the last day, they take out in procession a wooden chest enclosed in a long pillar, and deposit it in a sacred cemetery. They then take out the log and image of the previous year and carry it on men's shoulders to the outskirts of the city and make a bonfire of it.

All these details are enumerated by Herodotus who lived about the fifth century B.C. But Plutarch, who lived in the first century A.C., tells us that these celebrations took place at the end of September. In the year 30 B.C. when the Roman emperor Augustus captured Egypt, he reformed the Roman almanack, and that was why the celebrations fell on the above date, instead of in November. I deem it unnecessary to point out the very obvious similarities between the above-mentioned Khiok festival of Egypt and the Kārtigai festival of South India ending in Krittigai-Dīpam of the Full-moon night. This month coincides with the Khiok of the ancient Egyptians before the reform of the almanack in 30 B.C. The Tamilians too believe that their old and righteous king, Mahābali, visits the world in the month of Kārtigai and must, therefore, be honoured with public illumination. We too celebrate the day before the Full Moon as Bharaṇi-Deepam, when women make images of a human being in dough made of sweetened corn-flour and light a lamp over it with ghee as fuel. We too take processions of the Goddess in a vehicle of Kamadhenu, with a human face and horns. We too make a bonfire at night of a tall palmyra stem, clothed in several palmyra leaves. We too take that sacred fire home to light our hearths and household fires. And last, but not the least in importance, we add another tradition also. All women, married or unmarried, regard the Tirukkārtigai festival (Full-moon) as a special sacred night for praying for the long life of their *brothers*. It is a 'Brothers' day'. We must not forget that Osiris was the elder brother of Isis.

The Keraḷa Malayālees also observe the Oṇam festival as sacred to the memory of Mahā-Bali. The Brother-sister sanctity and

exchange of gifts need no mention, especially because in a matriarchal society like that of the Malāyalees, that sanctity is present in all other ceremonies too. But the date, August-September for Oṇam, indicates that they had been influenced by the calendar reform of Augustus. We must also remember that we too are observing the Mahālaya Paksha beginning from the Oṇam full moon in September.

And, again, can we not safely assume that the legend of the Mylāpore Goddess, transformed into a pea-hen and worshipping the Lord Śiva as a Linga under a laurel tree, is also a tell-tale reminder of the myth of the Egyptian Isis worshipping in the form of a bird the Phallus of Osiris under the tree that enclosed her husband's body ?

Before concluding my remarks, I wish to add a word on the cultural history of Persia. That history can be divided into four major epochs. From time immemorial to Alexander's invasion (330 B.C.) was the Achaemenian epoch. From 330 B.C. to 150 B.C. was the Seleucid epoch. From 150 B. C. to A. D. 700 was the Sassanian epoch. From that date till today is the Muslim epoch. Ancient Greek Drama attained its greatest popularity and perfection during the Achemaenian epoch, when Greece and Persia were fiercely fighting with each other. We can explain away the absence of dramatic art in Persia as due to its hatred of Greece. But during the next Greek epoch of the Seleucids, Persia must have seen several Greek plays performed in the important cities. It was even noted by later chroniclers that Media, a province of the Persian Empire, had been completely Hellenised by Alexander. And that was also the period when the Indian Drama had also been flowering forth on the eastern frontiers of Persia. Sir John Marshall points out that a scene from the play 'Antigone' is found to have been painted in a ceramic bowl unearthed near Taxila. When the Greek drama had access to India, how could it have bye-passed Persia ?

It was during the Sassanian period of Persian history that the Indian Drama attained its peak of glory in India. Aśvaghosha, Bhāsa, Śūdraka, Kāḷidāsa, Srī Harsha, and Mahendra Vikrama flourished in that epoch. Prof. Sylvain Levi tells us that it was probably during the reign of the Western Kshatrapas and perhaps in their court that the extant version of the Bhārateeya-Nāṭyaśāstra'

took shape. And these Western Kshatrapas were half Persian and half Indian, if not a remnant of the older Seleucids. There is a school of thought which connects the word 'Seleucid' with Chalūkya.

The suggestion of Sri Aundy that the 'Brihatkatha' of Guṇāḍhya might have been enacted in a mutilated form in Persia is but conjectural, even though circumstantially probable. But we require fuller data for evidence.

But during the Muslim epoch of Persian history an unusual thing happened. *Muslims, as a class of rulers were always opposed* to the stage and even dance, wherever they existed. Yet they began to participate in the enactment of plays and dances in Java. That was from the 16th century onwards. When these Javanese Muslims established contacts with Mecca and Persia during their Haj pilgrimages, they influenced Persian thought and culture. Some historians remark that some of the Muslim rulers of South-East Asia had Arab and Persian blood in their veins. This was responsible for the puppets and shadow-plays of Java being exported to Turkey. Some of the puppet-plays had the theme of the tragic story of the death of the Ali-Hussain brothers. The Mohurrum was an important festival of the Persians. And gradually, in in the 18th and 19th centuries, human actors too were allowed to participate in the Passion-play of Ali-Hussain, performed as sacred ritual during the ten days of the Mohurrum.

I thank you all for your patient hearing.

Sri *B. S. Rāmiah*: Professor Director, Ladies and Gentlemen! As an old friend and admirer of Mr. Aundy for his undoubted erudition, I came to this seminar to derive enlightenment on the techniques of the various types of the Theatre Art that have flowered in a hundred hues in the lands now going by the name, 'The Orient'. But, while justifying his claims to scholarship, he has disappointed me in the matter of enlightenment. He has completely eschewed, perhaps deliberately, picturisations of the modus operandi of such world-famous theatrical forms of Asia as the Peking Opera, the Kabuki and the Puppet-plays of Japan, the Lakhon of Thailand, the Barong of Bali, and the Nāḍagam of Ceylon, not to mention our own Indian Ekānki (one-act play) of Assam, Koodiyāttam of Kerala, Kuravañji of Tamil Nāḍu, the

Yakshagāna of Karṇātaka and Bhāgavata-mela of Tānjore. Instead, he has gone off the track to squeeze some obscure pre-conceived ideas of his own out of such universally understood terms as 'Naṭa', 'Nātaka' and 'Nāṭya'. I am reminded of a Tamil pseudo-pundit, who extracted the meaning 'concubine' out of the well-known English word 'wife'. 'Vaippu' in Tamil means 'a concubine' and 'Vaippu' and 'wife' have similarity of sounds!

Again, it has been the common practice in both ancient and modern times to borrow legends and plot-material from external sources, but it was in the distinctive treatment of those borrowed materials that the genius and originality of the borrower lay. This does not require an 'Aundy' for its discovery!

And, again, what is after all the artistic utility in pursuing such hair-splitting etymologies? It helps neither the art, nor the public, nor the profession, nor perhaps even to enhance Mr. Aundy's own well-earned reputation as a discerning critic and dramaturgist.

I beg your and Mr. Auudy's pardon for offering such a blunt criticism, which must be taken rather as a measure of my feeling of disappointment than as a resentment against Mr. Aundy's theories. I know full well that he will take my remarks in a sportsman-like spirit and may perhaps even choose to enlighten me, if I have erred at all.

Thank you.

Sri Vedam Venkaṭarāya Sāstry: Revered director, Sri Aundy, ladies and gentlemen: The subject taken up for discussion is a vast one and Sri Aundy, the leader, has made a clear but brief analysis of the theatrical contacts of India with the outside world right from the beginning of Egyptian legends of prehistoric times down to recent times, indicating that a kind of religious dance, in which a person forgets himself or herself and feels or makes others feel that the very deity is expressing itself through that person, might have given rise to the later drama all over the world. He feels that the word *naṭ*, meaning 'to dance' in modern Sānskrit, perhaps meant something different and connected with this kind of God-intoxicated dance, meaning '*āveśam*', as was found in many ancient tribes. That this dance probably had its main source from

the Osiris legend of Egypt, wherein it is stated that the body of Osiris was cut into fourteen parts and his queen Isis gave life to the body twice and thus was born the Osiris cult of God-intoxication, is his main theme and he has illustrated this by showing many similarities to this in the legends of the other ancient nations of the East. He has also shown the different regions of India exchanging theatrical ideas and practices.

This has been objected to as too far-fetched by Sri B. S. Rāmiah, but I feel that this cannot be brushed aside as such. History shows that nations have exchanged culture and thought as merchandise and even migrations have taken place. The pre-Christian era in world-history shows that ancient religion and culture all over the world was almost akin to ancient Indian life and culture. Egypt was not in isolation and the Osiris legend has its echoes with variations and partial similarities in almost all ancient nations. Cutting the body of a deity or king or queen, later deified, is found in the Sanskrit *Purāṇas*. The body of *Sati* was cut into fourteen parts and the gods are said to eat the Moon daily for fourteen days during the dark fortnight, Whether the Osiris legend has entered into Sanskrit Vedas as Ūrvaśī-Purūrava legend. as suggested by Sri Aundy or not, the suggestion of the origin of 'āvesa' dance, the deity being cut and revived, are all there with the additional verbal similarity of Isis with Isā or Iśwarī, the Hindu goddess. Similar to the Purūrava legend is the story of Promotheus of the Greeks, wherein, for bringing fire from heaven, the gods punished him by tying him to rocks and exposing him to the mercy of vultures. One cannot show similarities agreeing on all fours about cultures of such remote antiquity but can give glimpses of something akin, as stories get changed in course of time, and people, having common origin, give different versions about their ancestors. Though one cannot assert that India borrowed its dramatic tradition from elsewhere, we can venture to say that the rudiments of stage art might have come from a common source, if one were to accept a common Indo-European origin for the so-called Aryan people with their contacts with Egypt, Asia Minor and the Mediterranian Sea. Excavations at Bagoskoi reveal Sanskrit names and a culture, akin to the Vedic, having intimate contacts with Egypt. The Greeks had no sacred thread and knew nothing of Gāyatrī, but had, in other respects, much in common with the Sānskrit people. It is also quite clear

that the Sãnskrit section of the Indo-Aryan people came eastward and not the other way.

Though the origin of the Sanskrit drama is traced back to indigenous sources, like the Urvaśī-Purūrava dialogues in the Vedas, a clear picture of Sanskrit drama is seen only when classical Sanskrit (*Laukika-sanskrta*) makes its appearance long after Vedic Sanskrit disappeared. Buddhist and Jaina periods in Indian history saw no clear-cut drama and the great grammarian Pāṇini, more a Persian subject than an Indian, mentions only *dance* and rules for dancing-'naṭa-sūtras'. He was not the first of the grammarians and his references clearly indicate the existence of dancers' troupes with Krishna stories forming the basis for dance themes. As Sri Aundy points out, *nāṭaka*, meaning a drama, was not there in Pāṇini and the *rūpaka* or *daśa-rūpaka* was a still later one. Even the term *Samskṛtam*, as applied to the language, is not found in Pāṇini, while it is found only in the Rāmāyaṇa. Even this Sanskrit was probably confined only to some educated classes, as the language scheme of the Sãnskrit dramas show—Sãnskrit for higher classes and varieties of Prākrita for lower characters. This is confirmed by the appearance of Prākrit inscriptions earlier than Sanskrit, which appears for the first time in that of Rudradāman about A.D. 170. These clearly point to the fact that pre-Aryan dance preceded Sãnskrit drama. This clearly helps to uphold the view of Sri Aundy that *nāt* or *Āveśa* slowly became a dance performance.

It is also nowhere clear that the ancient theatre of the time of Pāṇini had any curtain or the parda. The Sanskrit "*tiraskariṇi*" was there and royal harems had curtains to screen women from public gaze. If the Yavanika or Javanika suggests Greek or Ionian contact, one can conclude that the Sanskrit stage did not borrow the dramatic tradition of the Greeks as the Greeks had no stage-curtain, but took the attractively woven Egyptian carpet conveniently for its stage purposes, even though the very people who invented the 'Javanika', found no use for it in their theatres. But behind all this one can see a strong similarity between the Greek drama and the Sanskrit in one aspect i.e. the Prologue part, called '*Prastāvana*' in Sanskrit, identical in meaning. As in the comedies on the Greek stage, characters introduce the play in Sanskrit, the *Sūtradhāra*, *Pāripārsvaka* and *Naṭi* or *Vidūshaka.*

The Greek word Orchestra may be interpreted as Or-Kshetra= music ground—the place from where music is being played. Both the words are so near in meaning and similar in pronunciation, as if one is the corruption or improvement of the other. The absence of tragedies in India can easily be explained as Greek ideals were different from the Sanskritic. Sanskrit people are reluctant to witness a tragedy and *Nāṭaka-lakshana* prohibits the writing or producing of a tragedy. The very ban on enacting death or killing on the stage presupposes that the theorists were aware of the existence elsewhere of such tragic spectacles. As Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, a tragedy, was the cause of much grief to Hindus, who sympathised with Śri Sītā, probably tragedy was prohibited. But the religious aspect of the drama is common to both the East and the West, and *nṛtta*, *gita* and *vādya* form different modes of worship, while drama is a composite mode of worship with all the three.

Sri *S. Gurumūrthy*: In ancient times, *kūttu* was considered as some sort of drama[29] which required the services of the musicians, dancers and other artistes. Street plays (*kūttus*) were also conducted in many parts of the country side by side with the musical and dancing performances. The *Śilappadikāram* again contains references to a large number of drama-actresses (Nāṭaha makalir) as many as 102 members, and to a band of 208 singers (*kūḍippāḍuvōr*), who seem to have conducted street plays or *kūttus* in different parts of the country.[30] This reference throws light on the development of the art of drama in the country in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In the subsequent periods, viz. during the reign of the Pallavas and the Colas, this art received tremendous encouragement at the hands of ruling monarchs. The earliest reference to the word '*Nātakam*' (drama) is found in the Māmanḍūr inscriptions of Mahendravarman.[31] Though the inscription makes mention of a drama, written by the king, we do not get the title of it, on account

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29. Drama (*Natakam*) is considered as one of the branches of *Santik* kuttu:
Santik kutte talaiva ninbam entin radiva viriru nadamavai cokka meyye vavinaya natakam. (Silappadikaram, M. Venkataswamy Nattar edn. p. 53).
30. *Silappadikaram, kalkot kathai, vv.* 128-29
31. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 136

of the fact that the record is badly damaged and many words are found lost. Separate theatres, which went by the name '*Nataka-śālai*' were constructed in the temples, and many plays wer enacted by dramatic troupes in them. The dramas were mostly enacted on the occasions of important festivals and witnessed even by the kings and their officials, besides common people.

Let us discuss some of the important dramas or plays enacted *in those days, which are found mentioned in the epigraphical* records of the times.

Mattavilāsa: This work of Mahendravarman is a first class farce with a plot relating to "the wanderings of a gipsy Kapālin or 'skull-bearer', the disappearance of his skull, his encounter with a Buddhist monk, Nāgasena, the appearance of a Pāśupata, and lastly the entry of a madman who had snatched the skull from a stray dog.[32] This is the farce mentioned in the inscription of Mahendravarman from Māmaṇḍūr.[33]

Rājarājesvaṛa-Nātaka: This play was enacted in Tanjāvūr temple on the occasion of an annual festival in the month of Vaikāśī. Though its manuscripts are not available at present, it is believed that the subject of the drama was the foundation of the Tanjāvūr temple by Rājarāja.[34] It was enacted by the actor (*Sāntikūttan*) Tiruvāḷan Tirumudukunran *alias* Vijaya-Rājendra Ācāryan and his troupe. They were assigned an allowance at the rate of one *tuṇi* of paddy per day and the total quantity of paddy thus given to him per year amounted to 120 kalams.

Nānāvida-Nātaka-śālai: In an inscription of Kulottunga, dated in his 46th year,[35] it has been recorded that there existed a theatre in the precincts of the temple at Tiruvāḍuturai (Tanjāvūr District). The theatre was called *Nānāvida-Nātaka-śālai*.

Another inscription from Āttūr (Tirunelveli), probably of 13th century A.D.,[36] records that a maid-servant of the temple,

32. *J.O.R.*, VII, p. 310.
33. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 136, *ll*.6
34. *S.I I.*, II, No. 67, p. 306. 120 of 1930-31; See also M. E. R. for 1930–31, part II, para 12, p. 44.
35. 152 of 1925; 67 of 1926. The *Silappadikaram* also contains references to drama-theatre (*Nataka arangam*). *Silappadikaram, urkan kathai,* v.3.
36. 444 of 1929–30.

Tirumenpiriyādāl, was given a gift of 2 *ma* of land for enacting a drama (*Tirunātakam*) on one of the days of a festival in Āvaṇi.

Even as late as in 1339 A.D., during the period of Sambhuvarāyas, many street-plays are said to have been conducted in Kāncipuram and Tondaimaṇdalam.[37] Even today, we hear of such *kūttus* or street-plays practised and enacted by the village communities.

Besides these temples, Jaina *paḷḷis* or the Jaina temples also seem to have encouraged the art and contained *Nāṭakaśālas* in them. A *Nātakaśāla* was in existence within the precincts of a Jaina temple, in Mugad (1045 A.D.)[38]

There are also inscriptions which refer to drama as a subject of study among scholars and teachers, in mediaeval times.

Thus, the art of drama was patronized and promoted by the temples and other religious institutions which could definitely be considered as great training centres of drama in ancient South India.

Prof. M. M. Bhaṭ: Theatre,-in its primitive form, is as old as our native or indigenous culture. The Deśi word "āṭa" is as old as our Dravidian tongue. All along, the word "āṭa" has been used for the native type of drama in Kannaḍa. Sometimes it is also called "bayalāṭa" (bayal = open corn-field, āṭa = play), because of its being staged in the open field without any enclosure etc. Of late, it has also been called Yakṣagāna, perhaps to get it recognised in circles where Sānskrit is understood.

Even the word "nāṭaka", employed in the sense of drama in Sanskrit, is perhaps a loan into Sanskrit from Dravidian. In earliest Sanskrit Lakṣaṇa works there is no mention of the word 'nāṭaka', equating it with *Drama in general*; there the drama is spoken of as "rūpaka" (daśa-rūpakas = ten kinds of plays etc.). There do not seem to occur any cognate word with a common etymology for the word drama in the other Indo-European languages of which Sanskrit is a member.

37. 42 of 1921
38. *S.I.I.*, XI, No. 78, *ll.* 16.

There are many ramifications of the word "nāṭaka" from its *etymus* "*naṭ*" *in the Dravidian languages. In Kannaḍa* "naṭane" is pretension, "naṭisu" is to pretend or to act; "naṭṭuva" is a dance-master; "naṭṭa" is a mode of "step-dance; in fact, if somebody walks rather leisurely, he will be asked whether he is making a "step-dance" (naṭṭa meṭṭu). In Tulu "nattu" is to roam about and beg (a semantic change also has taken place). In Tulu, there is a word "naḷi", meaning "to dance". The community of ritual dancers in Tuluva is called "naḷikke" people. Tamil and Telugu will bear with this cultural aspect.

Another point of importance. Had there been appreciable influence of the Greek, Egyptian or other Western theatres on ours, there should be some traces at least in the terminology of the art. See for instance, in Indian astronomy, which has been influenced by the Greeks, a host of Greek terms are present to-day beyond easy recognition e.g. hora, drekāṇa, lipta, anapha, kerṇadruma, kendra, trikoṇa, jamitra etc. We do not have any such foreign loans in the theatrical literature, except the word "yavanika" of doubtful origin. Even here we have the word "tere" or "tere sire", a native term to denote curtain, usually held before an actor enters the scene for the first time.

No doubt there might have been mutual influence on theatrical art everywhere due to trade and colonisation from the earliest times. Perhaps further Archaeological finds and their correct interpretation might enable us to assess the quantum of borrowed or lent items of culture.

Sri M. K. Maṇi Shāstry; Drama is essentially a social form of art. It can be called a composite or cumulative organisation of all fine arts. As an art, it effects the greatest impact on mankind and elevates man's ideas and ennobles his thoughts. If poetry can be called the queen of literature, drama can rightly be called the king. It is the totality of the aesthetic evolution of man's intellectual faculty.

Now, let us come to the day's subject, viz. 'Mutual Impacts of Indian and other Oriental Theatres'.

Mr. Aunḍy Rāmasubramaṇiam has dug out many precious details of antiquity to substantiate his arguments. He has stated that not only Indian Dramaturgy but also many of the terminology

of the Indian theatre might have derived their form and expression from the Greek and the Persian. This is quite interesting and, at the same time, only a point of view. One cannot accept the statement of Mr. Aundy for certainty. Even in their probability these terminologies are to be studied before any conclusion is derived. Let us leave this to the etymologists.

He has expressed that the word "Nāṭakam" also had this influence. This point of view is questionable. With due regards to the scholar, I beg to differ from him. One can understand that the word "Nāṭakam" had been mentioned in many places in ancient Tamil literature. To cite examples, one can quote 'Tholkāppiam' and 'Śilappathikāram'. In the latter Tame Kāvyam, the Prince-poet, Illaṅgo Aḍigaḷ, had dealt with the nomenclature of this art-drama, in elaborate details.

There is no study of the Tamil theatre as an art or literature made in a chronological and scientific way. Even in the past, this art (drama as a form and part of literature) had been much neglected. For, it was patronised by the kings and feudal lords only to the extent of an entertainment and pastime. I suggest that this kind of seminar should try to make a thorough study of the Indian theatre as a whole without any preconceived notion. Our arguments should not be opinionated but advanced with a social objective. Mr. Aundy's further studies and the participation of other scholars under the enlightening guidance of the eminent scholar, Prof. K. A. Nīlakaṇta Śāstri, Director of this Institute, shall pave the way, I hope, for this.

Thiru D. Sadāśivan: Thiru Rāmasubramaṇiam, (Auṇdy), has taken enormous pains to present a paper on a subject like this in his own inimitable way. It was not only exhaustive but also interesting. Yet I cannot refrain from making this observation. I concur with Prof. Bhat and consider the art of drama as an indigenous one. Lord Śiva, a non-Āryan and pre-Āryan deity, is credited with the creation of dance. Dance and drama are closely allied to each other. "The drama employed chiefly word and gesture, the dance chiefly music and gesture", Recent researches strengthen the view that the people of the Indus Valley civilization may be Dravidians and the art of Drama should have prevailed among them. I don't deny foreign influence in the development of drama. What I emphasize is that the art of drama was known to the people of the Indus Valley and therefore it is an indigenous

one. Further, references to the three kinds of literary works, namely, IYAL (poetry), IŚAI (Music), NĀTAKAM (Drama) in early works show that the dramatic art was practised from early times. Tolkāppiam, which is the earliest Tamil grammar extant, refers to them. However, we get a clear account of Drama, Music and Dance in the Śilappadikāram. It gives a vivid description of the stage and the actors (vide Canto III).

In Chola times, dramas were staged in temples. Dance-plays called *Paḷḷus* and *Kuṛavañcis* also developed. Originally, they were of a religious character. But later, some of the *Kuravancies* like the *SARABHENDRA BHUPALA KURAVANCHI* tended to glorify the patrons of the composers of the works. While in the Kathakali the actors simply danced, in the KURAVANCI, the actors also took part in singing.

It would have been more appropriate if the learned leader of the seminar had given us a historical account of the evolution and growth of the dramatic art in India. His was an attempt to find out words from foreign countries to justify his stand that the dramatic art is an alien one. Obviously, Thiru Rāmasubramaniam was endorsing the view of Weber, who thinks the Indian drama was influenced by the Greek dramas performed at the court of Greek (Bactrian kings). He had ignored the view of Lassen, who considers the Indian drama to be of native growth. Seeni Venkatasāmi's (*Tamiḻar Valartta Aḻagukkalaikal*) observation, in this connection, would be appropriate to recall now. "The Greeks are known to have adopted curtains on the stage in early times. On the other hand, since the letter "LA" is not found in Sanskrit, the transformation of the Tamil "*YELINI*" into "Yavanika" is not improbable. Thus it is even suggested that the Sanskrit word "Yavanika", denoting curtain, was adopted from the Tamil equivalent, "*Yeḻini*" and not from "Yavana" meaning Greek, as is commonly believed.

Regarding a reference made to the matrimonial alliance between Seleukus Nikator and Chandragupta Maurya, I would like to remind the galaxy gathered here of the view of Strabo on this matter. "There was a convention establishing a *Jus Connubi* between the two royal houses. But, in that land of caste (India), a *Jus Connubi* between the two peoples (Greeks and Indians) is unthinkable".

Thank you.

Dr. S. Shankar Rāju Nāidu. Prof. Śāstri, Mr. Aundy, Mr. Rāo and friends: Although I have known Mr. Aundy's enthusiasm for the theatre and the drama all these years, mine had not been so deep as to put off my engagements to attend this seminar. The Assistant Director of this Institute very much desired that I should participate in this seminar. After coming in and listening to his discourse, I felt delightfully enlightened and even enriched by the wealth of information supplied by 'Auṇḍy' and his associates of the Academy of Theatrical Research.

He has opened my eyes to the existence of several problems of theatrical lendings and borrowings in the past. He has demonstrated that what we had been regarding as our own Indian cultural heritage is an integrated composite product evolved out of centuries of impacts with other so-called alien cultures. His approach has further revealed that some of the so-called Hebrew, Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian cultures are also composite ones incorporating in themselves many Indian elements.

The theory of the indigenous origin of the Indian theatre as a settled fact has been shown by Mr. Aundy as beyond question. But the Tamil term "Ezhini" for curtain and the corresponding term "Yavanika" in Sanskrit deserve correlation with 'Yavana' which is an indigenous term for the Greek 'Ionian'.

Mr. Aundy deserves our congratulations for his wide and deep knowledge of this subject and the powerful exposition of the same in such a lucid manner.

Sri. V. Rāmasubramaṇiam. Concluding the discussion, he said: "I feel very highly flattered by the valuable contributions made by the various scholars who participated in to-day's seminar. Mr. Kōdaṇḍarāman has enlightened us about the cultural climates of South East Asian countries that helped India to have exports and imports of the techniques of dance and drama during the course of several centuries. Mr. Murugaiyan's detection of identical motifs in the S. Indian Hindu Thirukārthikai festival and in the KHIOK festival of Egypt is a valuable contribution. Mr. Ānand has taken great pains to establish his thesis of an intimate relationship between the phallic cult of Osiris and Isis of Egypt and the Linga cult and tree-worship of India. Incidentally, he has helped us to offer a rational explanation of the significance of the words 'Yaksha' and 'Gandharva', which had been baffling even great scholars of India and abroad. Mr. Vedam Venkaṭarāya Śāstri's

talk was directed towards establishing the truth that Bhāshā preceded Sanskrit as medium of speech in Drama. His declaration that the word 'Samskrita" is conspicuous by its absence in Pāṇini is revealing. Prof. Māriappa Bhaṭ has virtually endorsed my view that the words Naṭa and Nāṭaka had been derived from roots other than Sanskrit or Indo-European or Indo-Aryan. He cites the absence of the word " Naṭṭuva' meaning 'Dance-master' in Sanskrit as coroborative evidence for its foreign origin But he has discreetly avoided commitment on my conjectural theory that 'NATA' must have originally meant 'a trance-dancer' or 'spirit-medium'. Mr. Gurumūrthy refers in his paper to the Sanskrit farce "Mattavilāsam" of the 7th century A.C. That reminds me of the ritualistic use of that play, even as late as the 20th century, in the Kaṇḍiyūr temple of Central Travancore. I have referred to this aspect in my leading paper of 1961 (vide Part I of thc. Bulltetin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, 1962). The hero of the the above farce becomes, in the Kaṇḍiyūr ritual, an ecstatic human medium of Śiva Himself, granting boons to the worshippers. Mr. Maṇi Śāstri's statement that I have suggested importation of many Indian theatrical terms from Greece is not correct. I did not say so. Mr. Sadāśivam's statement about the existence of drama among the Indus valley people needs a slight modification. The discovery of a bronze statuette of a girl-dancer can suggest only the prevalence of the art of dance and not of drama. His assertion that the term 'Naḍakam', occuring in 'Śilappadhikāram' and the description of its performance in Chapter III, proved the existence of the art of drama in the Saṅgam Age, is also not quite correct. Nāḍakam there refers to the art of 'meaningful dance'—Nritya—and not to Nāṭya—legitimate theatre. It is beside the issue to support or refute his theory about the identity of the Indus Valley people. But I must clear myself of his charge that I follow Weber in tracing a foreign origin to the Indian theatre. I never said so, nor do I hold that view. But I still hold on to the view that the plot-contents of a few of the Indian dramas and epic poems are of exotic origin. I have already explained my views regarding the term 'Yavanika'. They were Egyptian or Ionian carpets used as curtains on the Indian stage. Greek theatre had no curtain at all to be copied by the Indians !

My playwright friend, Mr. B.S. Rāmiah, has blamed me for not dealing with the more utilitarian aspects of the mutual impacts of theatrical cultures. Unfortunately, ideas of utility and futility

vary with the nature of the approaches made by proponents and receptors of a thesis. I wish Mr. Rāmiah had condescended to read beforehand my perfatory note on the "Scope and Motif" of my paper, appended to the invitation sent to him. If he had entertained hopes of getting enlightenment, other than those scheduled therein, can I be held responsible for it? He has accused me of 'squeezing' meanings out of words of common usage, having well-understood meanings. I may plead guilty to his charge, if I had *based* my arguments on such word-splitting tactics, I have, on the other hand, used seven to eight pages of foolscap for analysing the story contents and motifs of Egyptian and Indian myths to prove my thesis, and supplemented by arguments with a few etymologies as corroborative evidence. I have also stated that we have lent as much as, if not more than, what we have borrowed. I believe, however, that the study of etymology has a utilitarian value too. Jingoism and Chauvinism very often develop out of wrong appraisals of such words as 'Āryan', 'Hebrew', 'Arabic', 'Dravidian' and others, which convey etymologically meanings other than those "commonly understood" by its users. If these users were to be enlightened by scholars by pointing out that the term 'Ārya' meant only a 'gentleman' and that all gentlemen are Āryans, will it not be "utilitarian" in dispelling racial pride and animosities? And, again, if the term 'Draviḍian' be explained as a 'person belonging to Drāviḍa', will it not help to make the layman regard me and Mr. Ramiah also as Draviḍians, even though we happen to be 'gentlemen' too?

Though coming last in my review but not the least in my regard, Dr. Śankararājulu Nāidu's talk was a series of high compliments to my "scholarship". It is true that I have enumerated a number of facts, collected by me during the last fifty years. But it is in the co-ordination and presentation of those facts that scholarship lies. Have I succeded in doing so? I sincerely thank Prof. Naidu for his spirited defence of my approach against the criticisms of Mr. Rāmiah. But I regard Mr. Rāmiah's frank arguments as evidence of my failure in co-ordinating convincingly all my collected ideas.

Before summing up, I wish to refer to two terms in the Burmese language having a tell-tale connotation, which I had forgotten to notice in the appropriate context. They are 'NĀTKA-DAW", denoting a dancer, who performs as a medium, through whom a spirit manifests itself to foretell the future, and

'NĀT-PWE' meaning a dramatic performance given as an offering to animistic spirits. These terms support my theory that 'Naṭa' must have originally meant what in Tamil goes by the terms "Komaram" and "Komara-t-taaḍi"—a trance-dancer, through whom a spirit manifests itself.

One speaker desired to know what 'Barong' meant in Balinese. I must oblige him, since it is a folk-dance-drama of a place, called 'Siṅga-pāḍu" in the Island of Bali. 'Siṅgapāḍu' seems to be a Tamilised Sanskrit word, connoting "the Holy feet of the Lion-god". It appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Simha-pāda' (Lion's foot).

'Barong' in Balinese means a bear. But in the play with this title, it is applied to a mythological spirit in a 'lion-mask', representing the forces of Good. He has a friend with a 'monkey's face. After fighting with three evil forces, these two vanish. The story proper begins here, where two servants of the demoness, RANGDA, are on their way to meet KUNTĪ-DEVI, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas. They are met on the way by Kuntī's servants and enter their bodies through magic powers. In those servants' guise they proceed to meet Kuntī. She is on her way to a Kāli temple to offer her last son, SAHĀDEVA reluctantly in sacrifice to the goddess. One of the disguised spirits enters her body, whereupon she picks up a quarrel with Sahādeva and orders her Chamberlain to proceed at once with Sahādeva to the Kāli temple to perform the sacrifice. As he too hesitates to do the deed after reaching the temple, the second witch enters his body too and makes him tie-up Sahādeva to a tree.

But the God Śiva has, in the meanwhile, granted strength and immortality to Sahādeva and he releases himself; whereupon the angry Rangda herself appears and attempts to kill him. Finding it impossible to do so, she surrenders and solicits redemption from a curse at his hands. He releases her soul by killing her.

But a co-spirit of Rangda, named KELIKA, enters and orders Sahādeva to kill her too. He refuses to oblige her. They fight. She, thereupon, changes herself into the form of Rangda, with such magic powers that even Sahādeva is unable to defeat her. He performs a tapas, whereby he is enabled to change himself into a BARONG. But still, in the fight, neither could defeat nor kill the other. Human retinue of the Barong join the fight with swords but Rangda, by her magic, causes them to stab themselves. At

this moment, priests enter from the temple and sprinkle holy water on them, whereupon they resume their normal state of mind. But the fight ends in a stalemate, because it is not yet time for the evil spirit to get herself liberated from her curse.

As lions were never found in Indonesia, it is surmised that the original Barong was the Bear-king, JĀMBAVĀN of Rāmāyaṇa and his monkey friends. But due to Buddhist influence (which equates the Buddha, Śākyasimha, with a lion), the lion-mask has been substituted. The story of Sahādeva's adventures occurs in the "Aśwamedha Parva" of Jaimini in the Mahābhārata. It is there that Sahādeva is made to meet Jāmbavān and the immortal twin monkeys, MAINDA and DVIVIDHA, during his Digvijaya campaigns in South India. This story is even today enacted in Bali as a religious ritual called "BARONG".

Let me now conclude.

From a comparative study of all the forms of oriental drama and theatre, we discover that the characters therein are strongly typed and patterned. Broadly speaking, there are five major types :—Gods and spirits, kings and nobles, priests and ascetics, clowns and comedians, and middle and lower class urbanites. And there are good and bad characters in each of them.

The next peculiarity occurs in the matter of taste. It is bad taste in the Orient to exhibit on the stage sexual familiarity through kissing, stroking or other physical contacts. Romantic scenes seldom involve physical touch. A prince in a Burmese '*Manora*' performance and his lady-love dance, circling ever closer to each other, but never so much as brush a feather of Manora's costume. This convention makes oriental plays seem sexless to western eyes. Actually, however, even sexual intercourse is often presented in Bali and Java in decorous stylised dance-movements that give little external clue to obscenity. Not knowing the dance code, the foreigner as well as the average modern native, do not suspect anything wrong.

On the other hand, references to physical organs, even of sex, are not considered offensive, as they are in the west. The major element in most oriental theatrical banter in songs between male and female characters is about physical organs and sexual intercourse. In Bali, the witch Rangda is referred to as devouring the testicles of the clowns! A western scholar, Colin Mephee, has described, in his "A House in Bali", a Balinese puppet-play,

where the chief clown unfastened his penis and clubbed to death hundreds of demons with it! In another Javanese puppet-play, "Rāja Parikshit Becomes King", the clown pelts Durgā and Kāḷi with large balls of his faeces until these two turn tail and flee! Such scenes are normally presented as farce and received with hilarious laughter by the audience. The episode of pelting faeces was even broadcast over the Government radio network!

In the West, on the other hand, the whole audience will cringe with embarassment, if they saw on the stage such activities portrayed or even referred to, even though they would not mind watching a man and woman embrace and kiss on the stage, —the longest recorded kiss being four minutes long!

Sexual conduct, in short, is neither stricter nor looser in either the east or the west, but only different in "taste".

I thank you, Mr. Director, ladies and gentlemen, for your patient hearing and very valuable contributions to this subject. I request Prof. Nilakanṭa Śāstri now to honour the Academy of Theatrical Research and its Post - Graduate College of Dramaturgy by presenting Diplomas of Merit in Dramatusgy to Messrs. N. Kothanḍarāman and P. Murugayyan, who have passed with distinction the examinations in Greek Classical Drama.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sāstri: Mr. Auṇḍy, Ladies and Gentlemen! Before winding up this seminar, let me with great pleasure carry out Mr. Auṇḍy's request to present diplomas of merit to Messrs. N. Kothaṇḍarāman, and P. Murugaiyyan, who have come out with distinction from the post-graduate College of Dramaturgy of the Academy of Theatrical Research, Madras. It appears that they have specialised in Ancient Greek Drama. Judging from the learned papers that they have contributed to today's seminar, I too believe that they eminently deserve the awards. I solicit them to come up and receive the diplomas.

(Messrs. Kothaṇḍarāman and Murugaiyyan received their diplomas from the Director.)

I congratulate you both. Please continue your researches under your versatile Guru.

Messrs. Kothaṇḍarāman & Murugaiyan: Thank you, Professor, for your blessings. We will do so.

Prof. Nilakaṇta Sāstri: Mr. Auṇdy has already made my task as Moderator easier by summing up the talks of the various participants, who deserve my own special thanks also for their coming here and enriching our knowledge about the Asiatic Theatre. Sri Rāmasubramaṇiam has cut new ground in his paper and provoked us to think afresh on various aspects of the art of the theatre—especially its origin. His main theory of its ritual origin is not new, as he himself bases his thesis on Dr. Ridgeway's well-known hypothesis. But its corollary that dances and dance-dramas of all theatrical performances are crystalyzations of the trance-movements of spirit-imbued mediums of ancient Shamanistic worship is indeed very interesting and deserves deeper study and research. And his further suggestion that more than one myth and legend that had enriched Sanskrit drama and epics have their proto-types in the Egyptain myths of Osiris and Isis reveal his deep study of comparative mythology, which he has profitably utilised for the study of International Drama.

He has complimented me by quoting an old suggestion of mine elsewhere that the arts of the shadow-play, puppetry, bronze drum etc. of South-East Asia had their inspirations from India. He has, however, eliminated the art of the shadow-play from the list, suggesting an indigenous origin to it in Java. But as he too has not put forth any positive evidence of its existence in Java before the Christian era, the matter must remain unsettled until newer data comes to our aid.

As Mr. Rāmasubramaṇiam has himself, with commendable modesty, answered the criticisms of Sri Rāmiah and others, I do not desire to reiterate it.

I thank you all once more for your kind participation in one of the most illuminating seminars held under the auspices of this Institute.

SECTION III

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Note: Titles of books and periodicals are in italics; books are listed first and then articles, all in alphabetical order.

Abbreviations

ABORI:	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BSOAS:	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
HHM:	Hindu Weekly Magazine
JAOS:	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JSAH:	Journal of South East Asian History
Phil E and W:	Philosophy, East and West

GENERAL : CULTURE

Adiseshiah Malcolm, S. Let My Country Awake (Unesco, 1970, pp. 375, Price $ 7; 42/- stg.; 28 F, noticed in *Unesco Features,* No. 585, October II, 1970, pp. 8 following).

"A new book on the human role in development; he writes unusual words for an international civil servant, but then he is no, the usual civil servant. Dr. Adiseshiah, as he relates candidly in his book that ranges with a spice of humour from the theory of development to the precepts of his childhood in South India, is an economist and an enthusiast, an administrator and an advocate. India is his country, yet so is the international community that he has served for twenty-two years. He looks at Unesco's modest means to fight the virus of misunderstanding and asks: "How can we pretend to be the inner voice of all men when we speak in such a tiny, hoarse whisper?

"I think of the 600 schools and eolleges associated with Unesco where children are taught Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 'Everyone has the right to life liberty and security of person.'

"And I set that meagre number of children studying in our associated schools against the hundreds of millions of school children and parents, adults and youth, who read daily newspapers and listen to radios and watch television broadcasts which speak of 'kill ratios', of debts 'which must be repaid by blood', of 'the need for vigilance at the frontiers', of 'sacred war', of 'pre-emptive strikes' and 'enemy forces growing faster than our forces can kill

them', of inferior races and peoples and nations. What doctrine of man is it that we are teaching our children and our children's children?"

It is to Dr. Adiseshiah's credit that high Unesco official though he is, he refuses to talk like the Establishment. When he discusses the crisis in universities he speaks with a voice that could be that of youth itself:

"If you want to analyse and synthesize 'students in revolt' in your laboratory, proeeed as follows. Take several thousand students in sociology and make them attend lectures in a hall that holds a hundred. Tell them that even if they pass their examinations, there will probably be no jobs for them. Surround them with a society that does not practise what it preaches and is run by political parties that do not represent student ideas.

"Tell them to think about what is wrong with society and how to put it right. As soon as they become actively interested in the subject, send in the police to beat them up. Then stand well clear of the bang and affect an attitude of confused surprise."

Such flashes are frequent in this book that could almost be called the testament of one of the most experienced high-ranking officials in the United Nations system.

Dr. Adiseshiah concludes: "I believe the time will come when all men will recognize two countries in their inmost heart: the country of their birth, the country that formed them, that gave them sustenance and their first sense of strength and solidarity and identity, and that other country; the country whose boundaries endlessly recede, whose flag is made of hundreds of flags, whose rivers flow from a thousand sources, that universal country which is our calling and our destiny, where all men are brothers, where all men and women work together, not for power or material goods alone, but to 'add an inch of happiness' to each other's lives."

ASIA:

Singh Raja Roy: Progress of Education in Asia. (*Unesco-Asia*, Bulletin of Asian National Commissions for Unesco, February 1970, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-6.):

The author discusses in this article the following points:

Transitional phase; expansion of young population; strain on education; growth of educational system; Teacher, the real resource in education; increasing expenditure in education; Karachi plan; secondary education at a crucial stage; imbalance between the output and social needs in higher education; education to embrace the whole of society and the entire lifespan of the individual.

INDIA:

Joshi, Lalmani: *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*: (during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-7, 1967, pp. i-xli + 538. Price Rs. 30/- Rev., *ABORI*, Vol. L, Pts. I-IV, 1969, pp. 133 to 135):

This work is meant to present authentic materials for the historical reconstruction and critical appreciation of some aspects of Buddhistic culture in India during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. The period selected is historically significant as the one to witness master minds of Hindu philosophies putting up a struggle to defend their doctrines when Buddhist and tantrik

adepts were trying to harmonize the tenets of Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophies. This learned work covers a very wide field, elaborately enumerated in the review. The documentation, bibliography and the index are fairly exhaustive.

Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, April 1966, *Vol. I* (International Association of Tamil Research, Kuala Lumpur 1968, pp. xl, 764, Rev., *JSAH*, Vol. X, No. 2, Septr. 1969, pp. 358 to 360) :

Three International Conferences were held, one in April 1966 at Kuala Lumpur, second in Madras in January 1968 and third in Paris in 1970 on Tamil studies. This work represents the proceedings of the first Conference and it deals with mainly social and historical topics arranged in two categories—one comprising 19 papers on South Indian Elements on S.E. Asian History and Culture and the second, containing 38 papers on Tamil Social History. These are intended to guide scholars in focussing upon key areas of research and to encourage interdisciplinary studies.

Dandekar, R. N.: Some aspects of the Indo-Mediterranean Contacts. (*ABORI*, Vol. L, 1969, pp. 57-74):

The author deals with the subject in four chronological periods conveniently designated as Indo-Mesopotamian, Indo-Anatolian, Indo-Hellenistic and Indo-Roman. He traces the foreign contacts from the period of the Indus-Valley Civilization. The latest researches in the field have been studied in respect of the contacts, with special reference to the Archaeological investigations and numismatic evidences (like the indianised version of Greek Divinities like Dinarius and Drachma in Indian coins) and the Gandhara Art, a standing monument of Indo-Hellenistic cultural fusion. The exchange of embassies is also alluded to as a mode of contact.

LITERATURE

INDIA :

Agarwala, V. S.: *The Thousand Syllabled Speech*, Vol. I (pp. xx 226, 27 plates Banaras: Prithivi Prakashan, 1963. Price Rs. 50.00 Rev.; *JAOS*., Vol. 88, No. 2, April-June, 1968, p. 370):

The late Professor Agrawala here details the symbolic interpretation of the Vedas, the methodology of which is rather intriguing. The vedic seers spoke an idiom of which the meaning was perspicacious to those to whom it was addressed. Agrawala's efforts may prove fruitful in throwing light upon many obscure passage, of the Vedas.

Krishnamurthy, K. (Editor): *Vadiraja's Yasodhara carita*: with Laksmana's Sanskrit Commentary; pp. xv+234; Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1963; Rs. 5/-. Rev. *JAOS*., Vol. 88, No. 2, April-June, 1968, pp. 370-371):

Vadhiraja lived in the 11th century and the commentator in the 16th century A.D. This work based on 12 manuscripts is a Jain Mahakavya by Vadhiraja, provided with an English Translation, an assessment of the author and a review of the plot and actors. The story is so devised as to create a spirit of dislike against animal sacrifices and to inculcate faith in the non-violent creed of the Jains. The picture is rather overdrawn, if viewed objectively.

Sastri, S. V. (Trans.): *Stories from the Kathasaritsagara*; (Part, II); (Sanskrit Academy Series No. 12, Hyderabad; The Sanskrit Academy, 1965 pp. xii+204, Price Rs. 5/-. Rev.; *JAOS*., Vol. 88, No. 2, April-June, 1968, pages 371-372).

The stories narrated have a romantic and ethical trend. Though the main purpose of the stories is to entertain the readers, most of them end in a manner to illustrate the hand of God in shaping human destiny. The reader learns much about the intricacies and pitfalls of life, so that he learns to regulate his life.

Trautmann, Thomas R., (Reviewer): *A Metrical Original for the Kautiliya Arthasastra?* (Rev. *JAOS*., Vol. 88, No. 2, April-June 1968; pp. 347 to 349):

From a passage (quoted) occuring in Dandin's *Dasakumaracarita*, D. R. Bhandarkar and Friedrich Wilhelm conclude that Kautiliya's *Arthasastra* once existed in verse form:—Ludwik Sternbach feels that therein Dandin "refers probably to Kautiliya-Canakya-Visnugupta, the moralist, who was author or was considered as author, of thousands of sayings, aphorisms and

maxims which were known to exist under the name of Canakya and were collected in six different versions of Canakya's aphorisms".

The reviewer studies both the views and proves that they are untenable.

PAINTING
INDIA :

Lal Mukandi: *Garhwal Painting* Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, Price Rs. 45/-. Rev: by Jaya Appasamy in *HWM*, dated 5-4-70.

Garhwal painting can be considered one of the extensions of Himalayan art which attained a local flowering in the mountainous kingdom of Garhwal. Mr. Mukandi Lal's book presents this school with beautiful illustrations and the requisite historical background. The paintings of the Garhwal school as illustrated in the book are of two major kinds, those pertaining to the life at court and others which illustrate epic themes. The latter are reinterpreted by the artist in terms of the aristocratic life of his times. Mr. Mukandi Lal also deals with the problem of influences from Mughul art. The 31 beautiful colour reproductions are each accompanied by notes. This book is an important addition to research on the subject.

RELIGION
GENERAL:

Brandon. S. G. F., *Man and His Destiny in the Great Religions*; (Manchester University Press, 1962, pp. XIV+442, Bibliography Index; Review; *JAOS.*, Vol. 88, No. 2, April-June, 1968. pp. 362-363).

This is a study of ten great religions and it presents their various interpretations of man's nature and destiny, in a comparative manner. As the first book of the type it is a welcome addition to the literature on comparative philosophy. But the reviewer feels equally obsessed with some of the pitfalls in the book which are inevitable in writings of this type. A more vigorous methodology in this area is urgently needed, for so the reviewer feels.

INDIA :

Nandimath, S. C. and others (Ed. and Trans): *Sunyasampadane*. Vol. I. *Edited with introduction, text, transliteration, notes and comments* by S. C. Nandimath, L. M. A. Menezes and R. C. Hiremath. [Pp. (V), XXIII, 469, VII, Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1965. Price Rs. 12, 20sh. Rev. *BSOAS*, Vol. XXXI, Part 3, 1968, page 673) :

Among the mystic followers of Basavadeva, the 12th century founder of the Lingayat Saivism of Karnataka was Allama Prabhu or Prabhudeva, the author of 1500 *vacanas* or pithy sayings, divided into 21 chapters and entitled *Sunyasampadane*, published in 1930. These utterances illustrate the pilgrim's progress along the six stages, namely, *Bhakta, Mahesvara, Prasadi, Pranalingi, Sarana and Aikya* of the Virasaiva path.

Dandekar, R. N. : *Some aspects of the History of Hinduism*. (Publication No. 3 Class B, of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, 1967, pp. 142. Rev. *ABORI*, Vol. L., 1969, pp. 121 to 125) :

The five research fellowship lectures of the author form the five chapters of this book, which actually surveys the history of Hinduism in almost all its aspects, in the course of a period of over four thousand years from the pre-Vedic to modern times. His analysis of the peculiar feature of Hinduism as a religion 'without a book' a 'prophet' and a 'church' is highly expressive. The five points about Hinduism, stressed with particular reference to its mystic-personal nature is revealing and significant. Long years of industrious study and mature reflection have been basis for this excellent and integrated picture of Hinduism painted by the author.

S.E. ASIA :

Krishnan, Y. : Was it permissible for a Samnyasi (Monk) to revert to lay life? (*ABORI* Vol. L., 1969, pp. 75 to 89.) :

The view whether an ordinated Samnyasi or a Parivrajaka can, without impunity, revert to his lay life after a period is discussed here with reference to the information available in Jain, Buddhist, Hindu, Tibetan, Chinese, Ceylonese and Burmese literature. The author quotes profusely from the relevant

sources to explain the variations in practice. He concludes that "the reversion of the Samnyasis and *bhiksus* of India to lay life, the life of a house-holder, was barred but this was permissible, nay, *was frequent in countries which cultivated the Indian* Institution of parivrajakas."

SOCIOLOGY
INDIA:

Murthy, K. Satchidananda (Ed.): *Readings in Indian History, Politics and Philosophy:* (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967. Pp. 392. 10.00. Rev. in Phil. *E and W*. Vol. XXI, No. 4, Oct. 1969, Pp. 461 to 463):

The essays *collected and reproduced* here are all by Indian thinkers. There are sections devoted to conceptions of History, including Hindu, Marxist and Idealist Conceptions, politics and philosophy. Politics, is the best part of the book and selections from Gandhiji, especially on his faith in *God, truth, non-violence* and *satyagraha* are quite representation of his mature thoughts. There are three survey articles on Philosophy, and five sections on types of Theism, Varieties of Idealism, Islamic Thought, some attempts at system building and ethics. Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism are not *adequately covered.*

Wagle, Narendra: *Society at the time of the Buddha.* (Pp. XI, 314+2, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966. Price Rs. 35. Rev. *BSOAS* Vol. XXXI Part 3, 1968 pp. 629-630):

Here the author draws tables from Pali canon giving modes of address and their subtle variation with *reference to 300* occasions connected with the Buddha, his monks, Paribbajakas, Brahmins, house holders, laymen, Kings etc. The term used are Deva, Maharaja, bho, gotra name etc.

Ghoshal, U. N.: *A History of Indian Public Life. Vol. two. The Pre-Maurya and the Maurya Periods:* (Pp. XXI, 324, Bombay: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1966. Price 56sh .6d. Rev. *BSOAS*, Vol. XXXI, Part 3, 1968, pp. 674):

The author advances the new idea that the *Arthasastra* was a compilation by Canakya of works from earlier times. The *Arthasastra* and the Jatakas loom large among the source of this book.

Derrett, J. Duncan, M.: *Mother-in-Law* v. *Daughter-in-Law*; (*Brahmavidya*, Vols. 31-32, 1967-68, pp. 531 to 553):

The author here gives extensive citations from passages in the work *Svasru-snusa-dhana-samvadah*, a manuscript found in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library. It seems to be the work of a Dharmasastra and Mimamsa scholar of South India, patronised by a Tanjore Maharaja. The contest for the share in a property between Mother-in-law (senior) and daughter-in-law (junior) is proverbial in Indian legal parlance. This aspect is discussed with special reference to case-laws and the opinion of this scholar on this specific point.

S.-E. ASIA:

Milne, R. S.: *Government and Politics in Malaysia.* (*Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1967.* (Pp. viii, 259. Index Maps; Rev.: in *JSAH*, Vol. IX, No. 1, March 1968, pp. 161 to 163):

The book provides a comprehensive descriptive analysis of the institutions of Malaysia namely, Cabinet, Parliament, Local Government and the Civil Service. It contains a useful bibliography and gives some indication of lines of research about the economic aspect of the area. The chapter on parties is very enlightening.

SECTION IV (A): INSTITUTIONS

Note: Country, subject and name of institutions arranged in alphabetical order; institutions and their publications in italics.

GENERAL

CULTURE:

An International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, (Teheran):

This institute, created under an agreement signed on 16th December 1968 between Unesco and the Iranian Government as "an autonomous institution at the service of Member States and Associate Members of Unesco", started operating recently in Teheran. It originated in a proposal submitted by the Government of Iran to the Unesco General Conference in 1966, and its activities should contribute to the implementation of the recommendations of the World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy (Teheran, September 1965) and to the aims of the Experimental World Literacy Programme.

The functions of the institute are to provide documentation, research and training services on the methods, media, materials and techniques for adult literacy. For this purpose, it will collect and classify documenation on literacy and functional literacy programmes and promote the international exchange of this information. It will also make comparative studies of the methods, media, materials and techniques used in literacy programmes in different countries of the world, and stimulate research on functional literacy methods relating to the needs of adults in various economic, social and cultural situations. In addition, it will organize and conduct seminars and training courses for high level specialists engaged in literacy programmes.

The institute is administered by a Governing Board composed of a representative of the Iranian Government and a representative of the Director-General, as well as representatives of any Member State or Associated Member of Unesco and of any intergovernmental organization making a substantial contribution to its operation. It is headed by a director nominated by the Governing Board in agreement with the Director-General of Unesco.

During the first phase of its existence, the institute will concentrate on documentation. Public and private bodies actively engaged in literacy work are invited to send full information on the methods and materials they use, attaching specimen primers and reading material as well as slides, charts, tapes, films and teachers' guides they use. They have also been sent a questionnaire, the replies to which will enable the institute to analyse these programmes and methods and select specific items of general interest. This information will be published in a bulletin which will help make known experiments which have proved successful and could be applied on a larger scale.

In the second phase, the institute will initiate a programme of research on literacy problems and act as a clearing house for research workers. It will invite research organizations or individual research workers to take part in specific projects on which it is working.

In the third phase of its activities, the institute will offer possibilities for study and training to organizers of literacy campaigns, teachers of literacy instructors and producers of materials for literacy teaching. In this connexion it will organize international seminars or special courses. Emphasis will be given to problems of methodology, the adaptation of techniques and media to the needs of adults, the problem of the retention of knowledge and the production and distribution of reading materials for new literates.

At this stage the three activities of documentation, research and training will each reinforce the other. The specific demands of literacy will be analysed during the training programmes and from the documentation available, while the research programme will endeavour to find answers to the questions raised.

It is expected that the institute will be able to contribute in this way to a cross-fertilization of ideas and experiences gained in the elaboration and application of efficient training methods.

Nations' League of Penfriends (86, Theatre Communication Building, Connaught Place, New Delhi-1):

Founded in 1924 and registered in 1954. Affiliated to the Federation of International Organisations of Scholastic Correspondence and Exchanges, Paris. Object: To promote pen-

friendship, hobbies, and culture and to act as a forum for pen-friends of all nations; has branches in the various cities of India and abroad. Its activities cover receipt and transmission of letters from pen-friend seekers from one country of the world to another; publication of special annuals on the New Year Day and Foundation Day; conducting prize essay competitions etc. Publications: *Exchange International* (English) *Pen Friend International* (English-monthly) *Patra Mitra* (Hindi).

INDIA

CULTURE:

The Academy of General Education: (P.O. Manipal, South Kanara):

Founded in 1942; has sponsored various educational institutions; it manages many educational and cultural institutions. Owns a library of 20,000 books and a set of musical instruments for teaching Carnatic and Hindustani music. Publications: *Ashtanga Hridaya* (Kannada translation); *Navodaya Sahitya Male*, a series of critical literary booklets in Kannada.

Bakubhai Mansukbai Institute: (Ashram Road, Near Nehru Bridge, Ahmedabad-9):

An Institute of Social Science founded in 1951 through a donation made by Srimati Nirmabaden Bakubai to Guzarat University Trust for research in Child welfare; recognised by the Guzarat University for post-Graduate research. Its activities comprise research work in psychology, psychiatry, and mental health. Holds a small library. Publications: *A mental health programme for the community*; *Personality factors in Education, a pilot study*; *Training in Human Relations*; *Mother's perception of a child.*

Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, (Jodhpur):

Founded about 1949, Deputy Director, Dr Purushotham Lal Menaria. Main object of the Institute is survey, collection, preservation, study and publication of ancient manuscript literatures. Its holdings to-date cover about one lakh of manuscripts on various aspects of Indological studies, rare reference books and journals; it has branch offices at Kote, Jaipur, Bikaner, Udaipur, Chittorgarh, Tonk and Alwar. At headquarters (Jodhpur) there is provision for a hostel for researchers from outside. Till date the Institute has published 114 works and 7 are under print.

Central Institute of Indian Languages: (University of Mysore, Mysore):

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE:

Dr. D. P. Pattanayak is the Director. The Institute is designed to promote the growth of linguistic studies on an all-India Basis. Acting in co-operation with the State Language Institutes and other government departments CILL will highlight the inherent unity amongst the languages of India. Special note will be taken of the development of tribal languages, Sindhi and Urdu. A principal function will be to evolve interdisciplinary courses in linguistics for those of a social science orientation and vice-versa. Methods, materials and aids for teaching Indian languages and conducting language courses will be formulated. CILL will act as a liaison between academics and administrators, providing expert advice to the Central Government in matters of implementation of language policy. A bi-monthly bulletin, *Varlahava*, is published by the Institute.

Sangit Natya Bharati: (8, Kashi Vishwanath Plot, Rajkot):

MUSIC

Director: A. V. Doshi. The aim of the Institute is to promote and propagate music studies; has published six books viz.; *Sangit Madham, Sangit Visharad; Sitar Siksha*, Parts 1 and 2; *Geet* Gurjan; Sangit Pravesh; Works in progress are folk instruments of Guzerat; Sitar Siksha, part 3; holds library of books on Music, Dance and Drama; records and tapes of classical and Folk Music.

Saurashtra Sangeet Natak Akademi: (Chhabi Villa P.O. Rajkot):

Founded in 1955 and registered in 1960. Affiliated to the the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi. Its activities comprise training in vocal and instrumental music, dance and drama, folk-music; research in folk music and folk dance of Guzerat. Its holdings cover all types of musical instruments, tape records, a library, films and pictures. Has published some monographs on great musicians.

Akhil Bharatiya Darshana Parishad (Faradikot, Punjab):

PHILOSOPHY:

Founded in 1954 and registered in 1956. Its activities include the holding of annual philosophical conferences at different

places in India; publication of a quarterly journal in Hindi. Besides issues of this Journal the Parishad has published other works like *Anubhavavada, Bharatiya Manovignana.*

JAPAN

CULTURE:

Institute of International Relations for Advanced Studies on Peace and Development in Asia, Tokyo, Japan:

Has been established at Sophia University in Tokyo. The programme of study and research at the Institute will be interdisciplinary and multi-national and concentrate on an investigation of the conditions for peace and development in Asia and the Pacific. The Institute plans to establish joint projects in cooperation with other research centers in Asian and Pacific countries and will engage in field work in this region. A program of International exchange of personnel will also be carried on by the Institute which will act as a host for visiting Scholars and exchange students from Asian and Pacific countries. Staff members of the Institute will visit research centers abroad. Finally, the Institute will also undertake a publications program and serve as an "Asian and Pacific Data Center."

U. S. A.

CULTURE:

Academic Advisory Council for Thailand, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024:

Was established in 1966 to provide the Mission of the Agency for International Development in Thailand with a permanent and regular source of advice from the academic community of the United States. It is constituted of a council of specialists on Thailand from a number of disciplines and universites, and, in principle, all academic specialists willing to help in marshalling advice and information appropriate to the requirements of the Mission. AACT is unique in that it is directly related to an operating Mission and therefore brings the academic people into direct contact with the programs and planning of foreign assistance. This unique character has its counterpart in a division for research and evaluation in the Thailand Mission that is designed to provide research support to programming activities.

Objects: (1) to make the knowledge about Thailand accumulated by the academic community over the years available to the US/AID Mission in a useful form; (2) to make reports and publications of the Mission available to the academic community; and (3) to develop a convergence of academic research with programs operating in Thailand to the mutual benefit of both.

The South Asian Language and Area Center (Michigan State University, U.S.A.):

Established in 1965, has developed a broad curriculam of study in South Asian languages, literature, and area studies and has stimulated an active program of research and publications. The main faculty represents many disciplines and is drawn from various colleges of the University and is complemented by resource and contributing faculty as well as by visiting professors from institutions in the United States and abroad. Approximately 60 courses related to South Asia are taught by a core faculty of 15 in the following disciplines: agricultural economics, anthropology, art history, communications, comparative literature, economics, education, geography, history, humanities, language, philosophy, political science, religion, sociology, speech.

The Archives of Traditional Music: (013 Maxwell Hall, Indiana University, U.S.A.):

MUSIC:

The Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music located in 013 Maxwell Hall, is a division of the Folklore Institute. It was founded by George Herzog at Columbia University in 1936 as the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music. With Herzog's appointment as Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University in 1948, the Archives was transferred to Indiana University. In 1954 the collection was officially accepted as a part of the university research facilities and administered under its present director, George List Frank Gillis was appointed associate director in 1964, in which year the name was changed to the Archives of Traditional Music. The Archives is a repository of phonorecordings of music and the spoken word representing aural data in the oral tradition from many cultural areas throughout the world. Thus, the Achives collections include folk and popular music, with these terms used in their broadest sense, the music of non-literate cultures (variously called tribal, ethnic, and exotic

music), Anglo-American and *foreign ballads, non-European* classical music, and more recent genres such as rag-time, jazz, the blues, and country music. The Archives attempts to keep abreast of current musical expressions such as rock-and-roll, rhythm-and-blues, soul music, high-life, and similar forms. Lectures interviews, and memoirs are also collected and preserved. The Archives is closely allied to such fields of study as ethnomusicology, folklore, and cultural anthropology. The Archives ranks as one of the leading institutions of its kind in the world. The present collection consists of 6,000 cylinders, 5,000 discs, 100 wire spools, 5,000 original tape rolls, and 4,000 tape rolls for public listening. *With the* omission of duplicates, these recordings represent close to 100 000 individual items-songs instrumentals, folktales, interviews, and so forth. The purpose of the Archives is to collect, preserve, and process collections of phonorecordings and make them available for scholarly research and study. Collections are received through a number of channels; (1) as gifts or loans from, or exchanges made with individuals and institutions; (2) through loans of tape stock made to individuals planning research *projects or collecting* expeditions in the field; and (3) through purchase.

PHILOSOPHY

Vedanta Society of Washington, D.C.: (7430 Tower Street, Falls Church, Virginia 22046):

The new Vedanta Society of Washington, D.C., organised in December, 1968, during a visit by Swami Ranganathananda, is planning an active program in the Washington area. According to its founders, Dr. and Mrs. Shanti Tayal, formerly of New Delhi, it will be a religious, cultural, and educational organization devoted to the study and discussion of Vedanta philosophy. Its objectives are to promote man's moral and spiritual development, to foster harmony among all religions, and to forge a more meaningful and compassionate *understanding* between East and West. Immediate projects are to establish a permanent meeting place, and to set up a lending library and reading room containing Vedantic and other religious material. (The Temple of Understanding-Newsletter-(202) 659-7603-Spring 1970.).

U.S.S.R

CULTURE:

Leningradskaya Pravda: (Leningrad):

"The scientific library of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Arts is very old and large, the only depository of books on art in the

country. Though the stock of the library consists of just about 350,000 publications, many of them are unique from the point of view of their artistic value, so that the pride of the library lies not so much in the quantity of reproductions, as in their quality and closeness to the originals.

The scientific library attached to the Academy of Arts was founded over two centuries ago to promote the artistic education of the Russian people. Needless to say, this task was fully realized after the 1917 Revolution.

It is truly a democratic library open to all. Since some visitors come here, perhaps, only once or twice, the librarians do not enter their names on cards, so that it is difficult to calculate the actual number of people who use the library. On an average about 500 people visit the library daily. The librarians are used to all kinds of requests and nothing takes them unawares.

For example, someone asks for a front view of an elephant. Others want to see a picture of the Paris rooftops, the interior of a small Viennese cafe of the Strauss period, a combat of gladiators, or a picture of stained-glass windows from Chartres. Still others ask for pictures of Neptune festival, lace fans, buses without wheels, the easels of famous artists, neon light signs, and pictures of a crab taken from all angles.

The library's subject card system, where every picture is described from every angle, is a great help to the librarians. From this card index one can find out, for example, how funerals were held in Ancient Greece, the looks of witches in every epoch, what the great floods or rain in a city are like, and even what sort of dinosaur once lived on our planet.

One can guess from this list of requests what professions the people have who turn to this library for information—they are painters, artists who design settings for popular festivals, film and theatre directors, restorers, architects, and so on.

Sometimes the library helps to curb somebody's exuberant flights of fancy, and prevents mistakes. One film director wanted a picture of a 17th century Finnish archer for his film. He had to drop his idea as the library was able to inform him that the last archer disappeared in the 14th century" (*Moscow News*, 19-9-1970, p. 4).

SECTION IV (B): SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS

INDIA

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Chinnacharya Shilpi: (*Mysore*):

Master craftsman; is ranked as one of the most famous idol makers of India. Working as a master craftsman for many years, he has attained great perfection in the art. Some of his masterpieces today adorn many museums in India and abroad.

Shilpi Chinnacharya is also helping to train a number of craftsmen to keep alive this glorious Indian art in accordance with the rules laid down in *shilpashastra*, the treatise on Indian temple sculpture.

"Ancient in conception and noble in tradition, the image makers are bound by faith and religious convictions. Never could they cast a substandard image." says the Mysore master craftsman.

DANCE:

Nair, Vazhenkata Kunchu: (Cheruthuruthy, Kerala):

Kathakali dancer. Born in 1909; he received training in Kathakali from great masters like Sri Koppan Nair, Sri Govinda Pisharoty and Sri Pattikamthodi Ravunni Menon. Sri Kunchu Nair won numerous medals and awards in recognition of his outstanding work as a Kathakali dancer and teacher. For the past 10 years now he has been working as the Principal of the Kerala Kalamandalam at Cheruthuruthy. Sri Kunchu Nair has performed in several parts of Western Europe, where he took a troupe of Kathakali artistes in 1959. He has also produced new plays in Kathakali, such as "Chitrangada", "Budhacharitam" and "Sakuntalam". Some of his important roles are Bahuka in "Nalacharitam," Ravana in "Bali Vijayam", Bhima in "Kalyana Saugandhika" and King Rukmangada in "Rukmangada Charitam". Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Pillai, Sri Swaminatha: (*Madras*):

Bharata Natyam Exponent. Born in 1893 in Thiruvalapputhur village of Tanjore district; he received training in Bharata

Natyam under Vidwan Pandanallur Meenakshi Sundram Pillai and from his uncle Vidwan Ponnuswami Pillai. His work has won him many citations and titles. In 1968 the Tamil Nadu Sangeetha Natak Sangam conferred on him the title of "Kala Sikhamani". He has conducted classes in Bharata Natyam at Chidambaram, Cuddalore, Pondicherry and Madras. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi Award in 1970.

Samson Leela: (Kalakshetra, Adyar, Madras):

Bharata Natyam artiste, disciple of the well known Rukmani Arundale, founder of Kalakshetra; has attracted public attention by the purity of with her items and executes them with grace and precision. Mrs. Girija Rajendran writes of her in the Illustrated Weekly of India, dated 9—8—1970, p.41 "With her talking eyes, mobile visage and trim figure, Leela should go on to win for herself and her school much fame - if she keeps up her diligent practice and her passion for this exacting dance form."

Singh Shri Ojha Thangjam Chaoba: (Imphal):

Manipuri dancer. Born in 1894; he received training in Nat Pala Sankeertan under Gurus L. Mani Singh, Sri Chaoba Singh is the only one in his family who has pursued this profession. He has received the highest honours for his work, including recognition by the Manipur Palace. He has also presented Nat Pala in several places outside Manipur. He has written a book on Nat Pala and established numerous training centres for the art in the villages of Manipur. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi Award in 1970.

DRAMA:

Hazarika Atul Chandra: (Gauhati, Assam):

Playwright, poet, editor-compiler and writer of Childrens' literature. Born in Gauhati in 1903; early education at a local primary school which was later raised to the status of a middle English school. General Secretary of the Session of the Assam Sahitya Sabha (1953) when he instilled new life and hope into the Sabha and remained at the helm of its affairs for 3 years. Later became its Vice-Chairman; in 1959 he became the Chairman. Won the Sahitya Akademi award (1969) for the Assamese *Manchaleka*, (a comprehensive history of the growth and development of the Assamese stage) published in 1966, and which is the

result of years of study and research. His largest number of plays are based on Puranic episodes or themes. Commenting on the contribution of Hazarika to the Assamese stage Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua observes "It must be noted that Atul Hazarika wrote dramas to meet the demand of the Assamese stage which, before he started writing, had been practically monopolised by the dramas of the Bengali playwrights. Hazarika liquidated this dependance once for all and his success inspired numerous writers for the Assamese stage". To mention a few of his writings: *Banej Kowar*, an adaptation of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice; *Chatrapati Sivaji*, the best among his historical plays; *Nairyatika* ("*Sita*"); *Rukmani Haran*: in these two plays "there is an attempt to blend modern dramatic technique with the miming or the *bhaona* of the traditional *ankiya nat* of the Vaisnavite Satras. His contribution to Childrens' literature cover no fewer than 30 titles. *Manimala*, the first collection of his sonnets which appeared in 1930 created quite a sensation. *Pancha janya* (1931); *Runuk Junuk*; *Mukuta Mala* are amongst his better known books of verse; besides he has edited and compiled for the Assamese Sahitya Sabha a number of works (Illustrated Weekly of India, dated 27-9-1970.).

Pillai, Shri N. N. (Vaikom, Kerala):

Actor. Born in 1918. He has been a freelance actor-director and playwright devoted to the cause of the development of the theatre in Kerala. He organised his own theatre group, Viswa Kerala Kala Samithi in 1953. During his long acting career he has played many varied roles. Some of his important roles are a Zamindar in "Pretlokam", Father of Kapalika in "*Kapalika*", and Prehistoric Man in "Shridevi". He received the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award for play-writing in 1965 and the Kerala Sangeet Natak Akademi Award for acting in 1969. Apart from being a renowned actor, Sri Pillai also has to this credit 12 full-length and 10 one-act plays. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Ray, Manmatha: (Calcutta):

Playwright. Born in 1900. Sri Ray obtained his Master's degree in Arts and Bachelor of Law from Dacca University. Working as a Publicity Production Officer in the Govt. of West Bengal and Producer. Five Year Plan Publicity, All India Radio, Calcutta between 1947 to 1961 Sri Ray has been a freelance writer. His first one-act play "Muktir Dak" (Call of Freedom)

was produced by the Star Theatre, Calcutta in 1923. Some of his well-known plays are "Dharmaghat", "Santal Bidroha", "Amrita Atit". He was awarded the Biswaroopa Medal for his contribution to Bengali theatre in 1964 and received the Soviet Land Nehru Award for his play "Taras Schevchenko" in 196/ He was the President of the Drama Section of the 37th Session of the Nikhil Bharat Banga Sahitya Sammilan in 1961 and, in 1963, he was elected President of the "Sara Bangla Natya Sammilan". Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Tanvir, Shri Habib: (*Delhi*):

Actor, playwright and Director; Born in Raipur, Madhya Pradesh in 1923. He was associated with I.P.T.A. in Bombay in the late '40s and early '50s. After a rew years in the amateur theatre, Sri Tanvir went abroad on a Govt. of India scholarship and received formal theatrical training at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, London, Bristol Old Vic Theatre School, Bristol and the British Drama League, London. Further, he became an Associate of the Drama Board, London. On his return in 1958, Sri Tanvir made Delhi his centre of activity and worked with the professional group, Hindustani Theatre, as Director for some years. He now runs his own theatre group Naya Theatre and some of his significant productions are "Mitti Ki Gadi", "Agra Bazar", "Shantranj Ke Mohre", "Signet Ring "Mizra Shohrat", "Merev Baad" and "Rustom Sohrab". Sri Tanvir has also conducted short-term training courses in theatre for University teachers sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, and produced for them plays by modern European Playwrights like Lorcea & Breacht, won the Sangeet Natak Academy award for Direction, in 1970.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE:

Meyyappa, Dr. Sundaram (*Madras*):

Tamil Scholar; Born in 1925 in Venthampatti; Tiruchirappalli district; M.A., Madras University; M.Litt., Annamalai University; Ph.D., Madras University; B.O.L., Annamalai University Vidvan, Madras University; Certificate holder in Linguistics, Deccan College, Poona; Proficient in German language; teaching experience of about 18 years at the post Graduate level; at present Chief Professor of Tamil, Presidency College, Madras. Visited Jaffna (Ceylon) in 1959 and delivered lectures on Tirukkural and Tamil literature; visited Malaysia in 1960 and lectured on Tamil language and literature; delegate of the Madurai University to the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies,

1968; has contributed research papers to different journals; has translated into Tamil a portion of Morphology by Eugene A. Nida along with the morphological terms numbering about 270; has compiled about 1000 folk songs of South India, Ceylon and Malaysia and written critical essays on them.

Sanjivi Dr. N.: (Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, Natesa-Narayana Nilayam, Talaiyari Street, Mylapore Madras-4):

Born on 2-5-1927. Son of a Tamil Scholar; had his education under famous Tamil Scholars like Mosur Kandaswamy Mudaliar, Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai and Dr. M. Varadarajan; gold medalist as first in the State in the B.O.L. (Hons.) Degree Examination. M.Litt and Ph.D. of the Madras University; Diploma in Anthropology and Politics and Public Administration; Professor of Tamil for a decade in the Pachaiyappa's College, Kanchipuram; now Reader in Tamil in the University of Madras; Vice-President and President of Tamil Writers' Association; life member of Saiva Siddantha Kazakam; author of more than 14 books besides 100 research papers; to mention a few: *Sangakalaccanrorkal*; *Virathalaivar Pulithevar*; *Iruperuntalaivarkal*; *Marutiruvar*; *Mananqatta Marutupandeyar*; *Sentamil Valarkum Cintanaikal; Silappadikaravirundu.*

Shukla Srilal: (Lucknow):

Noted Hindi Satirist. Born in Atrauli village, near Lucknow in 1925; education in Lucknow, Kanpur and Allahabad; joined State Civil Service in 1960. His first literary creation, *Swarnagram Aur Varsha* (1953-54) was published in *Nikash*, a powerful literary journal devoted to tapping the creative genius of his time. He won the Sahitya Akademi award for his novel (1970) *Rag Darbari* which "presents a horrifying picture of our corrupt administration, disorder, impotence, national irresponsibility and stagnation, which have all gathered force to cripple us". Shukla "has brought to Hindi satire seriousness of observation and modernity of expression". Some of his other publications are: *Sooni Ghati Ka Soorai* (1958); *Agyatvas* (1961); *Angad 'Ka Paao.*
Guntur District):

Sitaramamurti, Tummala: (Appikatla, Bapatla Taluk,

Contemporary Telugu poet. Born in 1901. Though a *kamma* (a land-owning sophisticated non-Brahmin community)

he showed a keen aptitude for Vedic studies even as a child. His teachers in Sanskrit and Telugu were eminent scholars like Kavoori Sriramulu, Jasti Subhayya, Tadepalli Venkatappayya Sastri and Duvvuri Venkatarama Sastri; obtained his diploma in Oriental Studies in 1930 from the Andhra University. From 1930 to 1937 he taught at various high schools in the Guntur district; Fellow of the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi. Is dedicated to Gandhian idealism and writes edifying powerful verse. His literary mentors are Tikkana for poetry and Chinnaya Soori for prose. His most important work is *Atmakatha,* Gandhi's autobiography in verse. He got the Sahitya Akademi award for his *Mahatmakatha*, a poetical biography of Mahatma Gandhi in Telugu. His other books are: *Rashtraganamu*; *Dharmajyothi*, *Parrigapanta*; *Sarvodayaganamu*; *Geethadarshamu*; *Nenu*. "His poetry derives principally from three perennial sources; the rural idiom, the Andhra folk lore and Tikkanna's chaste, classical turn of phrase". (Illustrated Weekly of India, dated 12-7-1920.).

Sundaravadivelu, N. D.: (Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, 90, Shenoy Nagar, Madras-30):

Born on 12-10-1912; Took M.A. & L.T. Degrees of the Madras University; has held the following positions: (1) Director of Public Instruction, (2) Director of Public Libraries, (3) Commissioner for Government Examinations, (4) Director of Higher Education, (5) Joint Educational Adviser and Additional Secretary, Education Department, Government of Tamil Nadu and Director of Collegiate Education; Visited U.K., U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and France; participated in various International Conferences relating to Education; Originator of "the Midday Meals and School Improvement" Scheme. The only Director of Public Instruction in India to be awarded "Padma Shri" in 1961; author of 20 books in Tamil—13 for Children and 7 for adults—a good speaker in Tamil; succeeded Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar as Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University in August 1969.

Viswanatha Kavi Samrat (Nandamoor, Gudivada taluk, Krishna district):

A well-known contemporary Telugu poet and novelist. Born in an affluent orthodox Brahmin family; Collegiate education at Masulipatam; a Scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu. Though he derived his inspiration early in life from the twin poets, Sri

Chalapala Venkata Sastri and Tirupati Venkata Kavulu, he developed his own style of expression as he grew in age and experience. "In almost all his works, we find as a distinct common feature, portraiture of the customs of the Andhra people down the ages. If any critic ventures to decide upon his place in the galaxy of Telugu poets, however biassed he might be, he cannot but place him on a par with the great classicists". Was awarded Padma Bhushan in 1970 by the Government of India. To mention some of his publications: *Andhra Pourusham;* his first work of poetic art; *Andhra Prasasti,* a work covering aspects of Andhra history in verse; Novels like *Eka Veera, Veyi Padagalu, Sashi Dutam, Sringara Veedhi, Telugu Ruthuvulu; Ramayana Kalpa Vriksham* in six volumes which is his *magnum opus.*

MUSIC:

Desigar, Shri M. M. Dandápani: (Annamalai University, Annamalainagar):

Musician. Born in 1908. Sri Desigar studied under his father, Muttaiah Desigar, *tevaram, tiruvachagam, tiruppukazh* and similar devotional musical forms of Tamil Nadu. His training in classical music was under Sattayappillai. He later became a disciple of Kumbakonam Rajamanickam Pillai. Sri Desigar is known for his rendering of Tamil devotional songs. He has also acted in many Tamil films. He has composed and published several collections of songs, the best known is Isaittamizh Pamalai. He received the title Isai Perarijnar from the Tamil Isai Sangam, Madras. He has been Court Musician of Ettayapuram and Adeena Vidwan of many religious endowments. He is at present on the staff of the Department of Music, Annamalai University. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Goswami, Shri Gahan Chandra: (Nikamul Satra, Tejpur, Assam):

Vocalist. Born in 1900 in Tezpur, Assam. Received his training in Ankia Nat and other allied arts under the late Narayan Chandra and Bishambher Goswami. Sri Goswami is well-versed in all the arts practised in Satra, a religio-cultural institution of Assam founded by the great Vaishnava Saint, Sri Sankardeva. He has devoted all his life to the development of these arts in the Nikamal Satra, Tezpur. He has worked for the

standardisation of raga and tala for Borgeet, the traditional music of Assam and runs a Music College for training students in Satra music in his Satra. In 1961 he received the State Sangeet Natak Akademi Award for being a distinguished *khol* player. He is a member of the Executive Board of the Assam Sangeet Natak Akademi. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Khan, Shri Mohammad Dabir: (8/1, Sandal St., Calcutta-16):

Instrumentalist. Hindustani Been. Born in 1909 at Rampur; belongs to a distinguished family of musicians that traces its lineage to Tansen. He received his training under his father Mohammad Nazir Khan and Hamed Ali Khan, the late Nawab of Rampur. Besides being an eminent player of the *Veena* of the Senia gharana, Sri Dabir Khan is also an accomplished singer of dhrupad and dhamar. He is a reputed teacher, some of the leading instrumentalists of the country having been his disciples. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Mallick, Shri Ramchatur: (Director, Shri Vishweshwar Kala *Kendra, Darbhanga)*:

Hindustani vocalist. Born in 1905 in Amta, Bihar. Sri Mallick comes of a distinguished family of musicians, known as the Mallick gharana of dhrupad singers. He had his initial training in vocal music under his father, Rajit Ram Mallick. Later he became a disciple of his uncle, Kshitipal Mallick and of Rameswar Pathak, the renowned sitar player. Besides being an eminent dhrupadia of the Mallick gharana, he is also an accomplished singer of khyal, thumri and the compositions of Vidyapati. He has new compositions and ragas to his credit. Sri Mallick went on a concert tour of Europe and Egypt in 1937. He has been honoured by various societies and was Court Musician of Darbhanga from 1924 to 1950. He was elected a Fellow of the Bihar Akademi of Music, Dance and Drama in 1953. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Narayana Iyengar, Devakottai: (Bombay):

Vainika. Born in 1905 at Devakottai. He is a well-known Vainika of the Karnatak system. He studied music with the late Sri Sakharam Rao and the Karaikkudi Brothers—Subbarama Iyer and Sambasiva Iyer. Sri Narayana Iyengar is known for his chaste rendering of Karnataka ragas and kritis. He has been honoured by

the Madras State Sangeeta Nataka Sangam. He served for fourteen years on the staff of the Central College of Karnatak Music, Madras and is now the Principal, Bharatiya Music and Arts Society's School, Bombay. Won the Sangeet Natak Akademi award in 1970.

Viswanatha Iyer, Maharajapuram (3, Jambulinga Naicken Street, Madras-6):

Musician, See Bulletin, 1959, Part I, Page 135. Born in 1896 His Musical career started in 1912. The obituary notice in *The Hindu* (He passed away at the age of 74 on 4-4-70) observes: "Maharajapuram", as Sri Maharapuram Viswanatha Aiyar was affectionately known among his admirers, "emerged as a musician, who could hold attention even during the time of the great Pushpavanam. But, somehow, along with his reputation as a great stylist and artist, he also developed a reputation for inconsistency. That was firstly on account of his approach to music which was always high adventure on uncharted seas and had little use for the values of professional consistency. The other was his voice. It was his strength and despair. It was highly cultured, compressed and mellifluous, with a musical "speech" that was like star-dust strewn, and when it responded to his infinite manodharma, the results were unsurpassed thrills for the connoisseur. Incredibly creative, his music was ever unassailably within the bounds of classical tradition. But his voice could also unaccountably let him down and there had been many concerts in his career that started sublime and lost direction later on account of its erratic trait.

"Maharajapuram" was acknowledged as a "king of ragas" by many connoisseurs who were willing to turn a blind eye to his lack of equal concentration on the other aspects of classical music. There were others to whom everything "Maharajapuram" did was even right. But it is, however, true that many ragas, notably Durbar, Arabhi, Mohanam, had been his exclusive domain. He was also unmatched for his raga delineations of Nayaki, Atana, Ahiri, Devagandari, Kunthalavarali and Kanada. His neraval was classic. His repertoire was vast and varied included padams and javalis. His ragamalika slokas are not likely to be equalled for it was in this end-concert phase that "Maharajapuram" invariably touched his best form irrespective of what had gone before. Durbari Kanada, Bageshri, Hamsanandhi and Sindhubhairavi always came with an excellence of interpretation richness of imagination

and authenticity of accent that amazed even the most exacting votaries of Hindustani classical music. A lover of life, very informal and chatty, "Maharajapuram" was also a humorist. He was also an ardent devotee of Thyagaraja.

U.S.S.R.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Khaidarov Kadyrzhan: (Kokand, Uzbek Republic, U.S.S.R.).

People's artist of the Uzbek Republic; veteran craftsman; aged 70. His bas-reliefs, medallions, column heads, platters, miniatures and large panels carved in wood decorate the interiors of modern buildings and are on display in museums of Kokand, Ferghana, Tashkent, Samarkand and other cites both in the Soviet Union and abroad; he uses the dark-layered wood of nut-trees that grow on mountain slopes. The trunks of the trees are twisted by the mountain winds, as a result of which the patterns of the grain are irregular. He blends his ornamentation with the grain. He employs both floral and geometric designs, and never repeats any of them. Kadyrzhan Khaidarov's great-grandfather, grandfather and father were all wood carvers. Among his pupils are his grandsons Usman and Yunus.

For specimens of his work see pictures in *Soviet Union*, No. 8 (245) 1970, p. 33.

SECTION VII: FOLK AND OTHER ARTS

RUHR FESTIVAL IN RECKLINGHAUSEN

The organisers of this year's Ruhr Festival decided to make history by including Asian culture in their bill of fare for the first time. Troupes from Thailand, Indonesia and India added a vivid touch of tropical colour to the 24-year-old festival, and the industrially affluent Ruhr valley got a glimpse of the cultural wealth of the so-called poor nations of their world.

The days of Recklinghausen's "*Encounter with Asia*" centred round the sound and colour of classical dance. From Bangkok came the Royal Thai Ballet to present episodes from the Hindu epic Ramayana in the graceful La Khon style; from Bali, there was the Barong Ballet with its spirited repertoire of Kris and Barong dances. From Pakistan came the vocolist brothers, Salamat Ali and Nazaqat Ali with their agile voices. From India came the sitar ustad, Imrat Khan, Bharat Natyam danseuse Padma Subramanyam, and the dazzling Kathakali dancers of Keralla's Udyogmandalam whom press reviews lauded as "the proudest flourish of Asian Art."

In their own diverse ways, they were all facets of the same ancient heritage, stretching back in the case of India's natya-veda, the misty past of 21 centuries ago. But altered and modified by the sea changes of time and distance, the art forms of the three lands combined at Recklinghausen to present a many-splendoured panorama of Asia.

With their lavish costumes and stage settings, the dance troupes could not fail to make a visual impact, even on an audience unused to such art forms. And with the brief explanatory talks that prefaced each performance, the festival fans could sense the significance of the stylised movements and the intricate mudras (finger acrobatics, as one German critic put it). As the theme of each ballet unravelled the varying tempo of the accompanying drums and cymbals also began to take on meaning.

But the music was something else. India's classical music is an acquired taste — and the people of the West have so far acquired it only as far as Ravi Shankar's sitar can take them.

Even then, the long preamble of the alaap before each raga — essential for the Indian concert hall — tends to be soporific in the West. And when the musicians's instrument happens to be the human voice, the usual grandstand show of technical virtuosity can become a real trial for the uninitiated. This was evident at the performance with which the musical encounter with Asia began — the vocal recital by Pakistan Salamat and Nazacat, with the former at his most flamboyant. While many of the Indians and Pakistanis sprinkled about the hall had their heads nodding appreciatively in response to the vocal gymnastics of the brothers the Recklinghausen music lovers were clearly bewildered.

Yet, a few days later Ustad Imrat Khan played some of the same ragas on his sitar and sur bahar. And this time the rapport was electrically apparent. How did this happen? What moved the audience to give a standing ovation to the same music that they had struggled to endure only a few days earlier? It was not just the difference between the sitar and the human voice.

Perhaps it is that the people who flock to the Ruhr Festival every year have the knack of listening beautifully; and of keeping their minds and hearts open to receive new experiences, new ideas.

For this rate gift, they really have only themselves to thank, themselves, and the coal of the Ruhr mines and the bitter winter of 1946. These were the elements out of which the Ruhr Festival was born.

The story began in post-war Hamburg. In those hard times, coal was scarce, and it seemed that the freezing cold opera house and theatres would have to set down. With their professional future hanging in the balance, the artists of these institutions tried desperately to find some way of heating the buildings, but nobody could help them. Nor could they find anyone with money to spare for opera and drama tickets. Some of the opera and theatre officials finally got hold of some trucks and drove out into the country side in the hope of finding coal. At Recklinghausen they found it.

The miners and industrial workers of the Ruhr valley knew what it was to stare poverty and unemployment in the face. But in these hard times they had coal, and they had pota-

toes. They offered them to the hard-hit artists. Truckloads of coal began to roll Hamburg. And the people of Recklinghausen invited the opera and theatre troupes to perform for them at the little Recklinghausen Concert Hall. In return they would pay in potatoes and coal.

For the Hamburg artistes, there was no question of exacting fees from the Ruhr miners. The debt was on their side. But a performance at the Recklinghausen theatre seemed a good way to show their gratitude. Mr. Otto Burmeister, administrative director of the Hamburg concert hall, masterminded the arrangements. A miniature cultural army—400 artistes and technicians—moved into the Ruhr coal belt. Enough food, and enough beds, were found. They played at Recklinghausen for a week, to packed halls of workers who had never really bothered about culture before. And so the Ruhrfestival was born.

Otto Burmeister continued to take part from Hamburg to the Ruhr, and the festival grew from strength to strength as the years went by. Cultural troupes from other parts of the German Federal Republic began to take part, and little by little the nucleus of cultural groups emerged in the Ruhr towns themselves. The workers had realised that they could play an active role in the colourful world of the performing arts, once so far removed from their own world of furnaces and pitheads, smoke and soot.

The Essen Municipal Theatre has now been taking part in the Festival for some years. The Westphalian Laend Theatre and the Dortmund Municipal Theatre also presented plays at this year's festival. A "young forum", which grew out of the Cultural Conference of Trade Union Youth in 1961, has been actively associated with the festival ever since, organising discussions and seminars on international and socio-political themes. This time, Asia and the problems of tradition versus development figured prominently on the discussion list. They also occupied German and foreign scholars—including Asians—who met to ponder and explore the theme of 'one world' during the academic week held from June 1 to June 6, three weeks after the festival began.

Forming an eloquent backdrop to the discussions and the feast of sound and movement was a photographic exhibition.

In a hundred photographs, it reflected the image of Asia—the traditional way of life, and the steep pathway to progress. In the developing industrial units of Thailand, Indonesia and India, the people of the Ruhr could find echoes of their own home district. Another off-beat counterpoint of cultural dialogue was provided by a jazz group from Bangkok. Coming together for a rhythmic jazz workshop with a progressive jazz combo from their host country, the jazz men from the east had a theatre full of young fans cheering them to the echo.

By the time the last curtain was rung down on the 1970 Ruhr Festival, it was clear that the Encounter with Asia was only the beginning of a wider cultural exchange for the people of both sides. The stage has already been set for other troupes, from other countries perhaps, to perform at Recklinghausen.

Understandably, entertainment is not the sole aim of those who thought of bringing Asia to Recklinghausen. It is not even the main aim. Dr. Erhard Eppler, West Germany's Minister for Economic Co-operation, summed up the idea behind the encounter when he met Thai, Indian and Indonesian Journalists invited to attend the Festival. "It is to show us that nations which we call 'developing' have more ancient and more consolidated cultures than our own, to remind us that we have learnt —and can learn from Asia". The aim of the cultural dialogue thus began is to show—right in the heart of industrial Germany —that the popular notion of a "giver—receiver relationship" between the technically advanced countries and the developing third world is inaccurate.

Closely connected with the expanding technical and material aid to Asian countries, the industrial region stretching from the Rhine to the Ruhr is an apt setting for a deeper relationship between Germany and Asia. The Ruhr Festival has already grown into a focal cultural event of national repute. And as Mr. Eppler pointed out, "trade unions helped to create it; it seems logical to have it connected with development activities".

Moving into the international sphere, —and with a few forays into experimental theatre also included in its experience— the Ruhr Festival is still very much a workers' affair. The new festival hall, opened in 1965, was built at a cost of 23 million DM

—with money donated by the Federal and State governments, industries and the workers themselves. Of the 1,061 seats, two-thirds are reserved for trade union members, and the bulk of every audience is composed of workers and their wives, all of whom pay only a third of the open sale price of their tickets.

Thematically, as well, the Ruhr Festival never ignores its origins. Worker's problems and trade union rights often form the subject matter of plays and other creative presentations. Representatives of the workers serve on the selection committee of the festival. Contacts between visiting artistes and the people of Recklinghausen are still close. During the drama and festival season, performing troupes lived with local working-class families, keeping alive the links forged in the cold winter of 1946.

The first President of the Federal Republic, Dr. Theodore Heuss coined a slogan for Recklinghausen: "Kohle gab ich for Kunst; Kunst gab ich fur Kuhle ("I gave coal for art; I gave art for coal).,' As the festival—and with it the workers of the Ruhr—move onward into ever-widening cultural experience, the words ring truer with the passage of time. (By Razia Ismail in *German News,* dated 1-8-1970).

SOVIET CHILDREN'S THEATRE

The history of the Soviet children's theatre since it was first set up more than fifty years ago has been closely associated with the country's cultural development as a whole. Today the children's theatre in the Soviet Union has already built up its own traditions, artistic style and guiding principles. Its motto could well be "In the service of truth, courage, humanity and the future."

If you should suddenly get a fit of the blues or the urge to recapture your lost youth, the place to go is definitely a children's theatre. Its very special atmosphere exerts a magical effect on you, and after about five minutes you find yourself believing implicitly in all the miraculous things happening on the stage and wanting to warn Little Red Riding Hood or boo the Big Bad Wolf, just like your six-year-old neighbour.

One day in a Moscow children's theatre the actress playing a boy called Mika accidentally dropped the box with the

brilliant invention which the enemy had been trying to get hold of for three whole acts. This made things very difficult for the actors playing the enemy because logically they should have snatched up the box, but this would have upset the whole action of the play. The situation was saved by an eight-year-old schoolboy who leapt into the orchestra, jumped on to the seat of one of the startled musicians, grabbed the box and threw it back to Mika.

This delightful incident is described in the book *Children at the Theatre* by Natalia Sats, one of the founders of the Children's theatre and also director of the Children's Musical Theatre, so far the only one of its kind.

It is significant that the world's first children's theatre should have been founded in the country where the great socialist revolution of October 1917 had just taken place. In 1919. when the young Soviet Republic was suffering from famine and devastation, the People's Commissar for Education, Anatoly Lunacharsky, not only signed a decree on the setting up of a special theatre where "accomplished actors and producers should put on fine productions of children's plays", but also became the theatre's director.

In the half a century since then the development of the children's theatre has been exciting and stimulating. The names most closely associated with it are the famous Soviet producers Roshal, Tovstonogov. Yefremov and Bykov, the actors Cherkassov, Chirkov, Babanova and Ilyinsky, the composers Khrennikov, Kabalevsky and Prokofiev, and the decor designers Golts and Ryndin. Many prominent authors have written for it, such as Alexei Tolstoi, Katayev, Paustovsky, Kaverin, Marshak, Mikhalkov, Shvarts, Rozov and Barto.

Children's theatre is a fascinating blend of words, music, colour and movement. If you should have the chance to see Theft of the Bulbs or Sombrero at the Central Children's Theatre in Moscow, My Brother Plays the Clarinet at the Moscow Young Spectators' Theatre, or Our Circus in Leningrad you will realise why so many good songs, poems, dances, and even plays that you feel like acting yourself come originally from children's theatres.

Acting for an audience of children is incredibly difficult. The actor must possess a supernatural degree of naturalness and the ability to play rather than act. To play as children play, believing implicity that this pile of chairs is a boat which can sail to the ends of the earth and that the floor is really the deep blue sea. When the actors at the Leningrad Young Spectators' Theatre are putting on Our Circus they actually prance about on chairs that are make believe horses and walk along make-believe tight ropes. They play circus instead of acting it.

A famous figure in the Soviet children's theatre, A. Bryantsev, used to say that the children's theatre should combine artists who could think like teachers and teachers who could think like artists. Naturally it took some time to build up this combination, but today you really do find it in the best children's productions. They achieve that rare blend of the artistic and the instructional in which the barrier between audience and stage completely disappears.

The attractively designed programme for Our Circus contains the following little rhyme:

"You are all part of our circus
In one jolly, happy, crowd.
So we want you all to join in,
Stamp and clap and laugh out loud."

And when you see young audience stamping, clapping and laughing out loud, totally absorbed in the play, you realise that it has ceased to be an audience in the strict sense of the word. This is thanks to Z. Korogodsky who is responsible for the staging of the show. It is also true of many other Soviet children's theatres.

Heine's famous saying that only the best is good enough for children would be a fitting comment to sum up the development of the children's theatre in the Soviet Union. The fact that the Central Children's Theatre has one of the capital's best theatre buildings in the heart of Moscow, next to the Bolshoi and Many theatres, reflects the importance attached to the children's theatre in this country. Incidentally one of the theatre's directors K. Shakh-Azizov, was the first president of the International Association of Children's Theatres.

Naturally the aim of the children's theatres is not simply to introduce young audiences to art. Education is more than just teaching a child to read, write and so on. The theatres foster in children a strong sense of civic responsibility, as well as courage, honesty and consideration for others. It conveys such concepts as comradeship and love of one's country in clear, forceful imagery and cultivates a true appreciation of culture as a whole.

Children's theatres in the Soviet Union work in close collaboration with schools. They run debating clubs, amateur dramatic societies, reading circles and arrange other similar activities for schoolchildren. Writers of children's play frequently meet with their young audiences for a serious discussion which can provide some extremely useful tips for new productions. (Soviet Union, No. 8 (245) 1970).

HOW TO PUT NEW IDEAS ACROSS: A UNESCO INVESTIGATION

Development is about changing the world and in the past the prophets and conquerors who attempted it had to rely on the force of their personalities or their arms to put their ideas across. Nowadays development is a worldwide, specialized process in the hands of ministers or UN agencies who try to be more scientific about it but their problem remains the same: what is the best way to put new ideas across?

It was with this in mind that Unesco set up a comparative study of the impact of communication on rural development in two different countries, the results of which have recently been published. Aim of the study was to test the effectiveness of various methods of communication in putting across to a number of village groups in Costa Rica and around Lucknow in India new ideas on agriculture, health and what was called "social education."

The innovations selected ranged from agricultural ideas such as the use of fertilizers or tractors, through health rules like boiling drinking water or eating vegetables, to social schemes such as co-operatives and savings and credit clubs. For a year, the ideas were put across to village discussion groups through reading (in India, this was combined with literacy instruction) and radio

listening. Then, by interviewing villagers, sociologists tries to measure their "knowledge", "evaluation" and "adoption' of the new ideas by checking against "control" villages where no instruction had been given.

Useful Guidelines

The countries were widely separated on the map and the manners and culture. The Costa Ricans' lives were dominated by the seasons like their Indian brothers' but most of them were literate which few of the Indians were; about half the Costa Ricans already listened regularly to the radio while radio sets had to be introduced to the Indian villages specially for the study. The Costa Ricans were poor, but the Indians even poorer.

Differences like these made results difficult to measure, quite apart from unexpected incidents such as volcanic eruptions in Costa Rica, the death of the Premier in India or confusions by the interviewers, so that Pepe Gonzalez in the first interview was mistaken for Jose Gonzalez Sanchos, and apparently for somebody else in the second.

Nevertheless, useful guidelines were obtained. First, the experiments showed that instruction should avoid teaching grandmothers to suck eggs; the Costa Rican farmers found the broadcasts were not technical enough and objected that the music included in the programmes as light relief was a waste of their time. Furthermore, when ideas struck home, they often resulted in frustration: Some of the farmers turned the discussions of innovations into pleas for technical aid which the researchers, having no funds, could only pass on to other authorities.

Tradition and Change

The study also showed that it was wise not to challenge tradition head on. Resistance to the use of rat poison was expected in the Indian villages because of the Hindu respect for all forms of life. Nobody admitted using poison when the subject was first broached, although the researchers had a shrewd idea that some participants were laying it on the quiet. But when it was demonstrated at a later discussions that six rats can eat a day's food for a human being, the group decided that nothing forbade the use of poison.

Experience showed that change can go hand in hand with tradition. The Brahmin and the Untouchable debated together in India; in Costa Rica, the best opinion leaders proved to be those who were a traditional force in their communities — the wealthy landowners, not necessarily those who made a lot of human contacts or were involved in organization.

One unexpected bonus was the spreading of ideas from the people being tested to the control villages where no instruction was given. Knowledge went up all round, in the forums, among those who were not participating in the forums and in the control villages. If good ideas are so infectious, development projects may have more influence than could be foreseen.

Agricultural ideas generally got across more than health or social innovations. This was only to be expected in view of the weighting of the programmes and the clear economic advantages offered by the ideas. In India, the literacy instruction proved to be a long-term investment in development which could not show results in a single year.

In both countries, the radio "treatment" was shown to be more effective than any others. On the eve of the communication explosion which is about to break with the development of satellites, this is perhaps the most promising sign of possible rapid advance. (*Unesco Features*, No. 572 — April (I), 1970).

SECTION VIII: NOTES AND NEWS

August 1969. The twentieth Conference of the International Folk Music Council was held in Edinburgh, Scotland, from August 6 to 13, 1969, under the auspices of the School of Scottish Studies. The three themes of the Conference were folk music in a bi-lingual community, the influence of folk music on twentieth century composition, and the contribution of films in the study and practice of folk dance and instrumental folk music. In addition, discussions were held on recent field research in folk music and folk dance, and on the work and aims of the International Folk Music Council. Activities arranged by the Scottish host committee included an all day excursion to Blair Castle, home of the Duke of Atholl, and Receptions given by the University of Edinburgh and by the Lord Provost and City of Edinburgh.

The International Folk Music Council headquarters is to be transferred to Canada in September 1969, where it will be established at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. The new Honorary Secretary will be Professor Graham George, Head of the Music Department of Queen's University. The twenty-first Conference is planned for the latter part of August 1971, and will be held in Jamaica.

The Folklore Society was represented officially by Mrs. Venetia Newall, the Honorary Secretary. *(Folklore, Vol. 80, Winter 1969.)*

17-10-1969. Twenty-one leading personalities from 20 countries took part in a symposium on 'Truth and non-violence in Gandhi's humanism', organized by Unesco in collaboration with the Indian National Commission to mark the centenary of Gandhi's birth.

The symposium, from 14 to 17 October at Unesco's Paris headquarters, began with an inaugural session at 9-00 p.m. on 14 October, in which the speakers were Rene Maheu, Director-General of Unesco, Prem N. Kirpal, Vice-Chairman of the Organization's Executive Board, William A. Eteki-Mboumoua, President of the General Conference, S. Chakravarti, Secretary of the Indian National Education Ministry and Secretary-General of India's National Commission for Unesco, Philip Noel-Baker, British M.P. and Nobel Peace Prize winner, and Edmond Michelet, French Minister of State for Cultural Affairs. The session included the screening of a film on Gandhi, 'The call of the villages'.

In his address on Gandhi's non-violence, the Director-General declared: 'Every great life is an exemplary struggle. Gandhi's struggle was the struggle of man's truth against the degradation, the denaturing which results from colonial status, on the one hand, and from industrial civilization on the other.' After stressing the two aspects of Gandhi's conception and practice of non-violence — the primacy of truth and the refusal to take part in any attempt to use force to impose as truth that which is not, or to resist force with an opposing violence — he discussed the philosophy of Gandhi in the context of the major problems of the developing countries,

and concluded. 'Gandhi remains invincibly present in our most decisive actions and our most serious thoughts, to remind us that history is always concerned solely with man — that is to say, with justice — and that there can be no justice without mutual confidence and respect.'

The three themes treated on 15, 16 and 17 October were: the relation between truth and non-violence in Gandhi's thinking; the application of these principles in Gandhi's work and teaching; and their significance and implication in the world today. Among those taking part in these debates were Professor Jeanne Hersch of the University of Geneva, Olivier Lacombe, professor of comparative philosophy at the Sorbonne, and the writer Lanze del Vasto.

To mark this centenary (2 October), Unesco has published a new edition of a selection of Gandhi's writings, 'All Men are Brothers'. A French version is being published under the auspices of the French National Commission for Unesco by Gallimard in the series 'Idees'. (*Unesco Chronicle*, December 1969, Vol. XV, No. 12).

January 1970. In the New Year Message for 1970 the Director General of Unesco observed: 'On this first day of the New Year, I should like to remind all the countries of the world that, at the suggestion of Unesco, the General Assembly of the United Nations has designated 1970 as International Education Year; and I would ask them to do everything in their power from now on to make this year of significant achievement, both qualitative and quantitative, in the field of education. In a world that is changing before our very eyes — a world in which the population explosion, decolonization and the profound economic and social transformations resulting from technological development are so many forces making for the democratization of education, while at the same time the acceleration of scientific progress is resulting in the more and more rapid obsolescence of knowledge, and the development of mass communication techniques and audio-visual methods is revolutionizing the traditional bases of communication — it is out of the question for education to be confined, as in the past, to training the leaders of tomorrow's society in accordance with some predetermined scheme of structures, needs and ideas, or to preparing the young, once and for all, for a given type of existence. Education is no longer the privilege of an elite or the concomitant of a particular age; to an increasing extent, it is reaching out to embrace the whole of society and the entire life span of the individual. This means that it must be continuous and omnipresent. It must no longer be thought of as preparation for life, but as a dimension of life, distinguished by continuous acquisition of knowledge and ceaseless re-examination of ideas. The great crises of education have always coincided with profound changes in society and in civilization. I believe that we are approaching one of those moments in history. The need for new human models, both for society and for the individual, is making itself felt almost everywhere. And while inventions of such complexity may be beyond the power of education alone, we all realize that without education they would be quite impossible. For, when all is said and done, no progress has reality or meaning for man except in so far as it is projected and reflected in his education. (*Unesco Chronicle*, January 1970, Vol. XVI, No. 1).

January 1970. On November 14, the President Shri V. V. Giri inaugurated the Jawaharlal Nehru University which, in the words of its Vice-

Chancellor, will 'concentrate on some major programmes of national significance which are comparatively neglected at present and which would reflect more intimately in the academic context, the life and thought of Nehru'. With a view to breaking new ground in the academic field, the new university proposes to open seven schools each with a group of centres. The emphasis would be on a major problem of study that would require an inter-disciplinary approach. The schools will consist of a School of Life Sciences which would emphasize the 'broad-based study of modern biology and will be able to take assignments in agriculture and medicine'; a School of Environmental Sciences which will function in collaboration with other outstanding institutions to deal with geophysics, meteorology, oceanography, hydrology and ecology. The School of Computer and System Sciences will include subjects like cognitive systems computer-based linguistic studies and psycho-linguistics. The School of Social Sciences would have several centres, including a centre for the Study of Scientific and Technological Advances in Developing Societies. The other three schools would be the Schools of International Relations and Diplomacy, Languages and Creative Arts. The University, which has its temporary office in the Vigyan Bhavan annexe, will eventually have its own campus in a thousand-acre plot in Munirka village, close to Qutab Minar. The jurisdiction would extend to the entire country, though the largest complex would be located in the campus in New Delhi. As part of its extension into other parts of the country priority should be given to the North-East Frontier Region because it was very near to the heart of Jawaharlal Nehru. (*CNFI*. Vol. XI, No. 1).

February, 1970. Unesco has just published the ninth edition of its *Catalogue of Colour Reproductions of Paintings*: 1860-1969: Hundreds of colour reproductions are published throughout the world every year. To make art masterpieces better known and to encourage the publication of high quality reproductions, Unesco, in co-operation with its National Commissions, has published catalogues every two years since 1949. One of these catalogues deals with works before 1860 the other with those from 1860 up to the present. A committee of experts set up in agreement with the International Council of Museums, selects the plates on the basis of three criteria: the fidelity of the colour reproduction, the significance of the artist and the importance of the original work. The latest edition of the catalogue up to the present day lists reproductions of 1,548 paintings which constitute a panorama of modern art. Some 50 artists are mentioned who did not figure in the previous edition, among them Josef Albers, Jean Dubuffet, Andre Lanskoy, Roy Lichtenstein, Robert Rauschenberg and Josef Sima. Each entry is illustrated by a small black and white reproduction and gives information on the painter, the work, the publisher of the colour reproduction and its price. The reproductions contained in the two catalogues are available for inspection at the Archives of Colour Reproductions Service, Unesco House. (*Unesco Chronicle*, February 1970, Vol. XVI, No. 2).

March 1970. Between 24 and 28 November 1969 an International Symposium on Museums in the Contemporary World brought together at Unesco headquarters museum curators, scholars, art critics, sociologists, educators and specialists in documentation from 22 countries as well as some dozen observers from International organizations.

There were three major themes for discussion: the museum and its impact on the intensification of scientific research and the growth of art production; the museum and the diffusion of culture to an increasingly wide

public; administrative structure and management of museums. These themes were treated in three papers presented to the symposium by Jan Jelinek, Duncan F. Cameron and Georges-Henri Riviere who were elected respectively chairman, vice-chairman and rapporteur of the meeting. (*Unesco Chronicle*, March 1970, Vol. XVI, No. 3).

March 1970. Unesco has recently issued the twelfth volume in its series 'Museums and Monuments' entitled *Field manual for museums.* The manual is intended to provide museum staffs throughout the world with the basic information needed in organizing field work and adding to their collections. It contains studies written by specialists of international repute on basic methods of identification and documentation, techniques of archeological excavation, methods of archaeological prospection and some new techniques used in the recovery, removal and reconstruction of skeletal remains. In conclusion, there are several studies on field work in ethnography, geology, mineralogy, botany and zoology. (*Unesco Chronicle*, March 1970, Vol. XVI, No. 3).

March 1970. 'Cultural Rights as Human Rights' is the latest title to appear in the Unesco series 'Studies and documents on cultural policies'. The booklet is the result of a meeting held at Unesco headquarters in July 1968 and consists of the working document prepared by the Secretariat for that meeting, communications by participants, excerpts from the discussions, the report of the meeting and the text of the Statement on Cultural Rights as Human Rights adopted by the participants.

Two publications — *Cultural policy: a preliminary study* and *Cultural policy in the United States* — have so far been issued in this series, the purpose of which is to disseminate information on problems, experiments and achievements in various countries connected with the principles, administrative and budgetary practices and procedures which provide a basis for cultural action by the State.

Other monographs are in preparation on cultural policy in Czechoslovakia, France, Tunisia, the USSR and the United Kingdom. Studies published in this series will be presented to the Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies, to be held in Venice in August-September 1970. (*Unesco Chronicle*, March 1970, Vol. XVI, No. 3).

March 1970. Smt. Sushila Rajni Patel of Bombay has been making dolls for years now. Assisted by a group of over a dozen young women, Smt. Patel runs a dolls' workshop next to her barrister husband's chamber at Churchgate. Till recently she had done dolls depicting Indian epics. Her dolls showing Mahabharata and Ramayana scenes were taken round Eastern Europe including GDR, last year for three months. There were some 15,000 dolls in the set. This year being the Gandhi Centenary year, Smt. Patel has prepared a visual biography of the Mahatma in about 3,000 dolls. The dolls were exhibited for a week at the Bombay University Convocation Hall. Later these will be going round the country. Smt. Patel hopes to establish a dolls' museum in Bombay, that will serve as an inspiration and a model for coming doll-makers in the country and depict Indian culture to visitors from abroad. (*CNFI*, Vol. 11, No. 2, March 1970).

March 1970. There is wide agreement that there is a crisis in education in most countries, and particularly those where the educational systems are

failing to meet the demands society makes on them or where the students themselves seem to be rejecting the current aims and methods of education, bag and baggage. But there is less agreement on *why* there is a crisis and what can be done to end it.

It was to tackle questions like these that International Education Year was instituted and within the framework of the year Unesco called an international conference at its Paris headquarters from 16 to 20 February to consider 'Education and the development of man'. Experts at the symposium examined the nature of present educational systems and considered what they produce, attempting to assess their success or failure in relation to the human beings they are intended to serve. Most importantly, the experts made an attempt to draw up outlines for a new model of education, taking into account the mass of influences. from instantaneous communication to the pluralistic nature of society, which make schooling only one force among the many which shape the minds of men.

To cover this vast field. Unesco cast its net wide. The participants at the symposium included both the professor and the student. the journalist and the nun and represented subjects as various as theology and cybernetics, law and art. (*Unesco Chronicle*, March 1970, Vol. XVI, No. 3).

1-4-70. The II International Triennale of Theatrical Publications will be held at Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, under the auspices of the International Theatre Institute in May. Organized in connection with the 'Sterijino Pozorje' Drama Festival. the exhibition aims at giving an overall view of recent publications on the theatre-dictionaries and encyclopaedias, as well as works on theatrical history. drama teaching, aesthetics and scenography. (*Unesco Features*, No. 572 — April (I), 1970).

1-4-70. A General Inventory is being carried out of all historical buildings and art treasures in France. Begun six years ago at the instigation of the then Minister of Culture. Andre Malraux, the Inventory is not likely to be completed for several decades. A detailed description of its organization is given in *Some Aspects of French Cultural Policy*, the latest title to appear in a series of Unesco monographs on cultural policy in various Member States. (*Unesco Features*, No. 572 — April (I), 1970).

4-4-70. The second world-wide Spiritual Summit Conference, held in Geneva. Switzerland March 31 through April 4 under the auspices of the Temple of Understanding, was another shining demonstration of interfaith understanding in this divided and confused world. Fortyfour leaders of the great world religions. plus nearly 60 other participants from many countries. spent the better part of a week in intensive consideration of some of the major problems facing mankind today. and what they and their religions might do about them. The basic theme of the conference was: "Practical Measures for World Peace."

Among the aspects of present-day life given extended discussion in special sessions were The Human Factors in World Peace, the Population Problem, the Role of World Business and the Role of Women in shaping future peace. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, addressing the opening session on "The Ambiguous Role of Religions in Relation to World Peace." reminded the participants that religions and religious conviction "often do not make for peace.." He warned that in their search for peace, people of religion must steer shy of

trying to create any sort of super-authority, and any tendency towards syncretism. The World Council, while primarily Christian in orientation, has begun, he said, to reassess its position vis-a-vis the other living faiths of men. And, he continued, "all of us represented here must honestly recognize the distinctiveness of the living faiths and begin to promote dialogue and friendship among their leaders and thinkers." Throughout the week, the conferees met in a spirit of amity and reason, aware that, as Mrs. Hollister had pointed out in her welcoming address, mankind has entered upon a new age which calls on us to think in larger terms than before, as fellow-passenger on a cosmic spaceship whose destination is beyond our control. (The Temple of Understanding—*Newsletter*, (202) 659-7603—Spring 1970).

17-4-1970. The interest that Indian music seemed to kindle in the west, particularly in America, was "fantastic", Pandit Ravi Shankar told a press conference here last week. Answering questions, he however denied the suggestion that Hindustani music had greater impact on the western ear than Carnatic music. When it was put to him that the Hindustani system, on account of its graceful glides in contrast to the pronounced vertical oscillations (gamakas) of the Carnatic system, was perhaps found readily accepted in the West, he said that he had also thought likewise earlier but had generally found the Westerner quite enthusiastic about anything new and there was as much receptivity to Carnatic music as to Hindustani music. It was al a question of how it was presented and how well the art was communicated, he said. To the question why when Hindustani music was so popular in South India, its votaries in the North were not reciprocating by giving their ear to Carnatic music, Ravi Shankar admitted it was a sad fact. He, however, proceeded to explain that Hindustani music listeners were conditioned by the slow, leisurely and note by note development of ragas they have been accustomed to as also by the strict adherence to the tradition of singing, morning, evening and night ragas in their proper time by their Ustads. Against this background they probably found the Carnatic music concert structure a bit confusing for them and were unable to respond, he said. But, he averred, the situation was now improving. He declared there could be no substitute to the gurukula system of learning music but also conceded the times had changed and also there were no inspiring masters as in the past. (From *Hindu* dated 17-4-1970).

22-4-1970. The Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International understanding has been given this year to violinist Yehudin Menuhin. The Jury described Menuhin as "not only the genius in the realm of music but one believing in the common heritage of man. He has devoted his great talents towards furthering human relations and international understanding. He has reached out to all peoples of the world transcending various narrow and man made barriers. (*American Reporter*, 22-4-1970).

22-4-1970. The famous Dorian Woodwind Quintet of American consisting of five young musicians (four men and a woman) brings to classical music lovers in India Conventional Chamber music in a new art form. The new art form consists of the multi-media effects of an electronic tape, elaborate light display and films as a backdrop to the music of Beethoven, Rossini and Mozart. The quintet arrives on three week cultural tour of India and will give performances in New Delhi, Chandigarh, Calcutta, Poona, Goa, Bombay and Madras. (*American Reporter*, 22-4-1970).

April 1970. Under the caption "Art and the Masses", *Public Affairs* Vol. XIV-4 writes: "The purpose of art is to provide pictures of the beautiful and the good in Nature and in life so that by constantly experiencing them man's inner life may be enriched and strengthened. But a misconceived notion of freedom is bringing about anarchy and cacophony in the art-forms of the West. On the other side art is being made subservient to trade. Art is thus losing its character in the West. The following comments of Mr. Keith Dewhurst in the *Guardian* (London, 7-3-70) on a portrait of the British Queen by Anigoni may be read with interest.

Art to reach the masses must become anti-art. It must be emptied of all disturbing content. Our age is superficially democratic and the elite of corporation capitalism must rule with some sort of consent. They are not like the ruling class of baroque Europe, who had the best taste and education, and whose ethics, could express itself in terms of high public art because their only thought for the feelings of the masses was that they should be impressed into servility. The only modern architecture comparable to baroque is the Manhattan skyscrapers. They are the high altars of corporation capitalism. They are contemptuous of the illusions of little men. They raise their heroic image to the sky and care not a damn for the traffic chaos and the worn-out people at their feet. They are the one true expression in public art of today's ruling class, which elsewhere seeks to hide its nature and to court consent, by seeming to be benevolently progressive. The ruling class does not want art. The masses are not sufficiently educated to stop being afraid of art. The intelligentsia have neither the will nor the power. All three are jumbled together by the capitalist market and by advertising, the aesthetic adjunct of the market.

In the case of real consumables like soap powder this works well enough, but art is not soap powder and not really consumable either. In the case of art there are great gaps between talent and traditions on the one hand, and the vague but desperate yearnings of the public on the other. It is not even one public; there are many overlapping publics and some of their tastes finance themselves, and others do not.

This fragmentation is what makes ours the epoch of the cultural wheeler-dealer. Like policemen they must touch pitch and not be defied. They must use the vulgarity that destroys art to finance and publicise art.

6-5-70. "Gandhi's Truth", a study of the Indian leader's theory of militant non-violence, won for its author a Pulitzer Price, America's highest journalistic honour. The prize was for the winner in the non-fiction field. Eric H. Erikson, the author, was among seventeen persons cited for outstanding journalistic efforts in the 54th year of the awards. Mr. Erikson, professor of developmental psychology at Harvard University, uses psychoanalysis in seeking understanding of how some religious and political leaders achieved greatness. (Press Release, USIS).

8-6-1970. In a statement issued on 8 June, the Secretary-General appealed "to all concerned" to respect and to take every possible precaution to preserve the many historic religious and cultural edifices in the fighting zone and elsewhere in Indo-China.

He said the latest news reports indicated that one of the most sacred and renowned religious and cultural monuments of man—Angkor Wat in

Cambodia was in danger of following the fate of Hue, another cultural and religious centre revered by Vietnamese people. "Angkor Wat must be saved" he added.

It was announced on 10 June that the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) had agreed to consider a request from Cambodia for technical assistance under the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. (United Nations *Weekly Newsletter*, Vol. 18, No. 25, June 19, 1970).

12-6-1970. A United Nations Seminar on the role of youth in the promotion and protection of human rights held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, from 2 to 12 June, expressed the view that the role of youth in the promotion and protection of human rights at present was not sufficient. In general, the report containing recommendations of the Seminar said, "the basic mechanisms of influence within both a national and an international framework" were "unavailable to the young", and "in order to involve an increasing number both in national and international life, better conditions should be created for their equal participation in economic and social development". (United Nations *Weekly Newsletter*, Vol. 18, No. 26, June 26, 1970).

26-6-1970. The Executive Board of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), meeting in Paris, on 18 June unanimously joined the solemn appeal by the United Nations Secretary-General on behalf of the ancient temples of Cambodia which the Board stated, in an eight-point resolution, were threatened with destructions due to the spread of hostilities. The resolution, sponsored by representives of France, India, Japan and Pakistan, referred to the application of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and recognised the exceptional importance of Angkor Wat and other temples, and the obligation of all humanity to preserve them. The resolution urgently appealed to all concerned to respect and preserve from destruction all monuments of ancient Cambodian culture and invited UNESCO's Director-General "to establish contacts with all those concerned in the spirit of the Hague Convention with a view to preserving the monuments of Cambodia's cultural heritage from destruction, profanation and pillage." (United Nations *Weekly Newsletter*, Vol. 18, No. 26, June 26, 1970).

June 1970. Four million years after the appearance of the first man-like creatures on earth, aggressiveness has finally become obsolete as a way to solve human problems. There is hope, too, that it can be eliminated from man's behaviour: despite popular writings to the contrary, it is not "instinctive". Yet the task will be a long one. While aggressive behaviour is not innate, it is extremely easy for the human species to learn it. Changes in education are needed, particularly from the ages of two to six years, the very moment when children get no formal education at all in many societies. In some, television is their mentor. It can expose them to a killing every half hour, a violent incident every eight minutes. It can show them cleaned-up murder without blood or gore, giving the impression that violence is an easy way out. A further look is needed on the other end of the age scale at those who conduct world affairs. The very factors of intense pressure, nervous strain and lack of time that one finds in inter-

national crises are the same factors that inhibit the decision-making process when war is in the offing. These are just a few of the conclusions reached by a meeting of eighteen scientists from eleven countries held at Unesco House in Paris to determine how far science has gone towards understanding human aggresiveness and in what directions it must go in the future. (*Unesco Features*, No. 576/77 — June (I/II), 1970).

10-7-1970. The British Queen in a remarkable public policy speech in Canada told the people of that vast and potentially rich part of the world that they must protect it from thoughtless industrial exploitation. Already in some parts of the world serious damage to the natural environment had been done. In the Northwest territories huge tracts of land and water still remained unspoilt. This places a particularly heavy responsibility upon the authorities to plan and manage its development. 'This responsibility. was not just for your benefit or even for the benefit of Canada. It was vital for the balance of nature throughout the world. In a complex universe it was not men alone who had to work with one another, but it was also necessary to think of animals, rivers, lakes, trees and even plants. Everything had a role to play if we are to continue to advance in peace and harmony.' It is therefore most important to bear in mind that thoughtless meddling and ill-considered exploitation is just as bad as wanton destruction, and its side effects can reach out to great distance in time as well as over the surface of the earth." Citing the above in *Public Affairs*, August 1970, the Editor adds: "Planners in India, please note."

August, 1970. Mr. D. V. Gundappa. Secretary, Gokale Institute of Public Affairs Bangalore, writes in *Public Affairs*, Vol. XIV, 8 August 1970, p. 150 under the caption "A Higher Principle than Democracy":

"Another reform equally necessary if democracy would be saved is a way of ensuring that democracy is constantly reminded of its insufficiency for its responsibilities and its need to relate itself to a higher principle in all contexts. The multitude of to-day, however large, is as nothing placed by the side of the multitudes, which in the past have successively built up ideas and traditions of *Dharma*. To ignore this age-old guide to the Good in human affairs is to throw ourselves on the mercies of winds and waves. Mob-mind is not democracy if democracy should be anything good. The dangers to democracy are two: (i) corrupting the electorates, and (ii) the elected parliament considering itself all-wise and all-sufficient. The antidote to both evils is in our acceptance of *Dharma*, or the rule of the general as may be gathered from Conscience within and long-time Tradition without."

September, 1970. The need to have artists associated in cultural policy-making was one of several conclusions emerging from a 10-day Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies which closed on 2 September in Venice. Sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Conference — the first of its kind — was attended by some 400 delegates and high officials from 85 countries, including some 50 Ministers and Secretaries of State.

The final report noted that the freedom of the artist is a fundamental right but also serves the common good as an antidote to sterile bureaucracy

and in fostering creative criticism, initiative and innovation in society. Freedom of the artist, it was pointed out, to be effective, should assure material conditions in which he can work.

The Conference was unanimous regarding the equality and dignity of every culture believing that there should be no room in the contemporary world for cultural imperialism. There is wide apprehension, however, concerning the prospects of independent cultural development in smaller countries, in areas which are economically weak, and especially in indigenous societies, all of which may be eroded by the commercialised mass culture of the rich and powerful countries. If this continues unhampered, the result will be a general cultural impoverishment, and monotony, the report noted.

The Conference testified to the growing public awareness of the need to protect cultural values and invigorate cultural activities. To cope with pressing needs, Governments, the final report noted, should assume responsibility for long-range planning as they do for education and science.

The Conference also unanimously endorsed the view expressed by UNESCO's Director-General, Rene Maheu, in his inaugural speech that if everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, as is called for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the responsible authorities must provide the means to do so. (United Nations—*Weekly Newsletter*, Vol. 18, No. 37, dated September 11, 1970).

September, 1970. At a ceremony in Teheran on September 8, International Literacy Day, Unesco's Deputy Director-General, Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, presented two international awards for outstanding literacy work; the $ 5,000 Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Prize donated by the Shahinshah of Iran, and the new Nadezhda K. Krupskaya Prize of 5,000 roubles donated by the Government of the USSR.

The winner of the Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Prize was a private organization famous throughout Latin America — the .Radio Schools of Sutatenza' run by the American Cultural Popular. This literacy campaign began in the Colobian village of Sutatenza in 1948 when Father Jose Joaquin Salcedo began an educational radio programme for this parish. It has since spread all over Colobia. Its methods: an 'audio-visual' approach using radio mainly and worked out through careful and continuous study of the problems of the people served.

So popular has been this campaign that it won support from the Government as well as from the religious and business world. Today long and short wave transmitters carry instruction to more than 1,60,000 radio sets distributed throughout the country. Several thousand young volunteers, trained in rural institutes, act as teachers. The organization prints its own primers, reading materials, periodicals and visual aids.

The Institute of Language and Literature, a part of the Academy of Sciences in the Mongolian People's Republic, received the first annual Nadezhda K. Krupskaya Prize. This Institute was awarded the new Soviet prize for successfully completing a challenging task begun in 1921 under the slogan 'Learn yourself, teach others'.

By 1940, 20·8% of the population of the country had been made literate, by 1963 the figure was 90%, and today illiteracy has been virtually

abolished. Today Mongo ia has more than 1,100 libraries and the Institute, its literacy task completed, has become a scientific centre for research in linguistics, the history of literature and folklore. (*Unesco Feature*—No. 583 — Septr. (II), 1970).

September 1970. Experts from 28 Member States met at Unesco headquarters in Paris from 17 to 28 August for a meeting on "Education for International Understanding and Peace" with special reference to *Moral* and civic education. The participants, who attended in a private capacity, agreed that the task of educators was to prepare pupils for life in the global society which is emerging and also for their responsibilities in it. The meeting was one of Unesco's activities for International Education Year in which the promotion of Internatinal understanding through education is a priority objective. It recommended that students should be assisted to appreciate the world, first as individuals then, progressively, as families, to nations which may be different in many ways, but which are fundamentally the same. Improvements in teacher training should include greater emphasis on comparative education and group psychology. A further suggestion was that at all levels — primary, secondary and university — curricula should include special courses in the history of the culture and art of all countries, regardless of their social structures, as well as practical training in civics and ethical conduct. Special attention was called for from universities to act as pace setters for education as a whole and as training grounds for leadership in governmental policy making. A net conclusion of this meeting was that education, above all, must aim at instilling a conception of human relationships which will help the construction of a peaceful world by shaping habits of thought and behaviour. (*Unesco Features* — No. 585 — September (II), 1970).

9-10-1970. The significance of the non-violent movement will be highlighted in a new play entitled "Gandhi" scheduled to open at the Playhouse Theatre in New York on October 20. The play is the result of ten years of research had writing on the part of Atlanta-born, Presian resident author, *Mrs. Curney Campbell*, plus a length search for a short brilliant actor [illegible] to play the title role. It will star Jack MacGowran, a frequent principal in plays by Samuel Beckett in England and Paris, who was last seen in this country in the title role of the play "Juno." The newplay "Gandhi" is being directed by a leading Broadway personality Jose Quintero, who was last represented "More Stately Mansions," the Eugene O'Neill drama starring Ingrid Bergman. The drama will touch many themes; non-violence, prejudice, injustice, suffering. It portrays in selected sequences the development of Gandhi's concern with self-rule for India and self-discipline for himself. Mrs. Campbell shows Gandhi as a young dandy: an ambitious young lawyer; a victim of prejudice, and as an adult making the tortured decision to foreign family life for the sake of his frequently misunderstood mission. Gandhi's relationship with Jawaharlal Nehru, who became Prime Minister of the New India, is sketched in the play as is Gandhi's relationship with Jinnah Sahib, who led the movement to split India and Pakistan. The play shows how Gandhi's wife, "though she failed to understand his vision, follows him loyally. (*News Features* — USIS).

13-10-1970. Cash awards totalling Rs. 29,000 were distributed to scholars who had qualified in Veda Bashya examinations conducted by

Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi Shashitiabdapoorthi Trust by His Holiness *Sri Sankaracharya at Kanchi*. The following were the recipients: Rig Veda: (1) Sri L. Vaidyanathan (II Class) Rs. 5,000; (2) Sri S. Chandrasekhar (II Class) Rs. 5,000 Krishna Yajur Veda (1) Sri R. Krishnamurthy (I Class), Rs. 7,000 (2) Sri A. Subbu Krishnan (I Class), Rs. 7,000 and (3) Sri T. N. Balasubramania Ghanapatigal (II Class), Rs. 5,000. Those who were placed in I Class were given the title of "Bashya Ratna" and those in II class of "Bashya Mani."

13-10-1970. An Ayurvedic Research-cum-Training Institute will be estblished in Mandalay shortly to provide intensive Ayurvedic training to medical practitioners in Burma.

October, 1970. Unesco's sixteenth General Conference opened at Paris for a six-week session. Among the proposals for Education are "the setting up of an international commission to study development strategies; the creation of mobile teams of experts to improve curricula; pilot projects for the reforms of general and technical secondary education and the improvement of teacher-training at this level; the convening in 1972 of a world conference on adult education; studies on the democratization of education and participation of youth in a changing soicety; and research into socio-cultural problems linked with language instruction, especially in multilingual societies.

Priority in the *Social Sciences* is given to such themes as the contribution of these disciplines to development; studies on population problems and on man's environment; on the diversity of cultures as against the universality of science and technology, the development of philosophy in the contemporary world, and the contribution of the social sciences to the achievement of Unesco's aims for human rights (the struggle against racialism) and of peace. Activities in the field of culture cover the continuing study in clutures, Asian, Arab, Latin, American, European and African, cultural development, dissemination of culture through translations of literary works, travelling exhibitions of works of art and the publication of anthologies of music and the preservation and restoration of monuments and sites. (*Unesco Features*, No. 585).

SECTION IX REVIEWS

RATNĀKARĀVATĀRIKĀ PART III by *Ratnaprabhasūri* (being a commentary on Vādi Devasūri's *Pramānanayatatvaloka* with a *Pañjika* by *Rājasekharasūri*, A *Tippaṇa* by Pandit *Jnanacandra* and Gujarati translation by *Muni Sri Malayavijayaji* edited by Pandit *Dalsukh Malvania*; Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series No. 24, Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyamandira, Ahmedabad-9, 1969. Pp. 44 + 190. Price Rs. 8/-.):

This is a significant work on Jaina Logic, widely known as *Pramāṇanayatatvāloka* by the reputed author Vādi Devasūri (1086 to 1169 A.D), a disciple of Municandra, a *Sreetarahara* jainācārya It is complete with eight *Pariccedas*. They expatiate on (1) determination of the nature of Valid Knowledge (*Pramāna*), (2) Perception (Pratyakśa), (3) recollection (Smaraṇa) (4) recognition (*Pratyabhigñanā*) (5) argumentation (*Tarka*), (6) Inference (*Anumāna*), (7) Valid Knowledge derived from verbal testimony or scripture (*Āgamākhyapramāna*) and (8) objects of knowledge and determination of the consequences and fallacies of knowledge (*Viṣayaphalapramānasvarūpādhyabhāsa*). A significant stress is made, in the seventh and eighth *Pariccedas* on the determination of the nature of one-sided knowledge and method of debate. Specially noteworthy is the emphasis, laid in the eighth, on the duty of the disputant, his opponent and of the president and members.

The commentary *Syādvadaratnākara* on this work is ably done by the author of the original text itself. It is said to be a voluminous publication by Devasūri and hence is styled *Brhati*. His masterly disciple *Ratnaprabhasuri* (1181 AD) has produced another commentary popularly known as *Ratnākaravatārika* otherwise famous as *Laghvi*. It is noted for its comparative ease and is specially appealing to the reading public. While powerfully denouncing the *Naiyāyika* School, it propounds the *Atmasvarūpā* as per Jaina concepts (Page 52). During the course of a discussion on the paths leading to the attainment of *Moksa* (Salvation), he subjects the *Mimamsa* and *Vaisesika* concepts to a searching criticism to justify the Jaina method of reaching *Moksa* as embodied in their literature (Page 80). According to him, the denial of Mokṣa to women, as the *Digambara* Jains aver, is wrong. Women like men are equally worthy of attaining salvation (P. 93

— 103). The full aim of the original has been well brought out by this lucid and easy commentary.

The commentary named *Pañjika* brought out by *Rājasekarasūri* (1348 AD) in elucidation of *Ratnakaravatarika* is highly helpful to the scholars of Jaina Literature as it gives the needed introduction, wherever necessary and serves to enlighten the concepts embodied therein.

Parts of this work, with *Pañjika* and *Tippaṇi* were published in Virasamvat 2431 (1904 AD) as series No. 5 of *Yasovijaya Grantha Mālā*. This edition is a new publication with a translation in Gujarati of the seventh and eighth *Pariceedas*. *About the* translation it is not in our competence to offer any remark, The comprehensive index to the several commentaries, provided in the end, speak of the scholarship of the Editor and of the Publisher. The Print is neat and seems faultless.

The publication is a useful addition to the Library and is an *indispensable guide to the student of Jaina logic and system.*

— R. Thangaswamy

THE NELSON GALLERY & ATKINS MUSEUM BULLETIN: Vol. IV, No. 11, Aug. '70—Published by the Nelson Gallery & Atkins Museum, Missouri—pp. 1-44.

The Bulletin is divided into four sections. The first one entitled "Civilisation" deals with a series of thirteen colour motion pictures shot by Sri Kenneth Clark tracing the evolution of Western Europe after the fall of Roman empire. The picture is now being shown to the public at no charge by the Nelson Gallery authorities. The second section "Three Apostles from Vich" contain a very interesting account of the ancient city of Vich lying 42 miles north of the Mediterranean seaport city of Barcelona in Spain. The antiquity and early history of the famous city, the archaeological excavations conducted within the precints of the Romanesque Cathedral Church in the city and dedicated to Sir Peter, the sculptural and architectural beauty of the church and their iage have been critically analysed *in this section* with good photographs illustrating the above features. The Nelson Gallery has one sculptured panel brought from the Cathedral which represents three Apostles. They are shown carrying books on which *their names are written*. They are very handsome indeed and skillfully executed. They may have been part of an *Apostolado*, a very popular theme in

Spain. In the *Apostolado* twelve Apostles are shown evenly distributed on each side of the Christ. In those days they were used to decorate the Church facades.

The third section is devoted to the study of a "Thirteenth century page of astronomical and geometrical figures with drawings of animals and a man" which is now in possession of the Museum. Mr. Hagius attempts to evaluate and date the French Vellum sheet by means of palaeographical and mathematical analysis. The vellum sheet contains the work of several generations of scientist-mathematicians, particularly of the thirteenth century. It is ink on Vellum measuring $10\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$ and has stained light green (Acc. No. 63-29). It survives in isolation and it is not known exactly what text it accompanied. Besides its artistic value, the folio possesses some historical interest and hidden secret affording a glimpse of the thirteenth-century mathematician, from novice to master. Mr. Hagius first attempts to distinguish the various hands that had worked on the page and to establish relative chronology for them. Next he discusses the problems on which they worked and lastly he throws a flood of light on the significance of the work. His careful examination of the folio and the critical study of the problems with necessary charts and drawings relating to the same deserve appreciation.

The last section contains information about the acquisition of some new procelain show cases and rare models to the Museum gallery. The Bulletin on the whole looks more or less like a Research Journal devoted to a critical study of some of the rare objects of historical and cultural interest now deposited in the Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum of Fine arts. Every Museum must have a copy of the Bulletin which will certainly serve as a guide how some of the rare specimens of art in a Museum collections has to be examined and studied by experts.

—*S. Gurumurti.*

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Asia Society, New York. :	*Asia Society Letter* and other occasional literature.
Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca. :	*Journal of The Asiatic Society of Pakistan.*
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